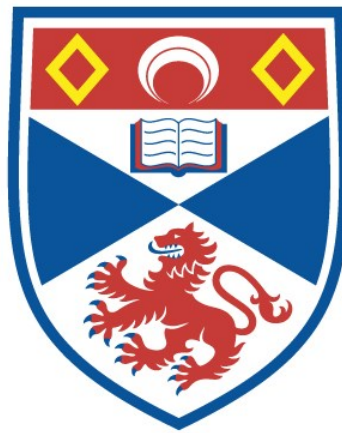


INDIGENOUS ROUTES: INTERFLUVES AND
INTERPRETERS IN THE UPPER TAPAJÓS RIVER
(c. 1750 TO c. 1950)

Daniel Belik

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



2018

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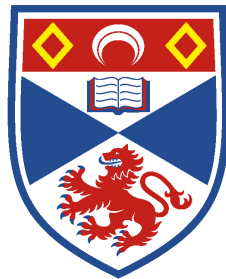


ASTROCARYUM LAURUM

THE GARDEN OF THE GARDEN

Indigenous Routes: Interfluves and Interpreters in the Upper Tapajós River (c. 1750 to c. 1950)

Daniel Belik



University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

at the University of St Andrews

May 2018

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an ethnographic account of the indigenous history and colonization of the upper Tapajós river in Brazil. Research was conducted using archival materials in which I searched for the different conceptualizations of river movements and routes, of either Indians or colonizers. During the period of penetration in the region called “Mundurucânica”, several native groups living in the savannah and at the riverbanks, started to be used as a labour-force, but above all, they worked as interpreters thereby enabling colonization on these Amazonian rivers around the Tapajós. If, on one hand, native groups were violated by colonization, on the other, they have shaped and influenced the penetration, demonstrating their active involvement in this historical process. With the arrival of Franciscan priests and the ultimate establishment of the Cururu Mission, exchanges between indigenous people and colonizers became impregnated with mythical fragments. These relations of displacements and encounters between indigenous groups—that in turn influenced colonization efforts—with local cultural values and practices is still a relatively little explored topic in anthropology. This thesis synthesises the history of the colonization of a region of the Brazilian Amazonian rainforest from the point of view of its indigenous inhabitants. It considers the pacification of the Indians in the 18th and 19th centuries, presenting ethnographic material of the indigenous groups that have moved into the Tapajós region and examines their social logic of interethnic contact. I analyze fragments of material culture, myths and naming such as they appear in the literature so as to track down the spatial dynamics of indigenous Amazonia and its landscape transformations.

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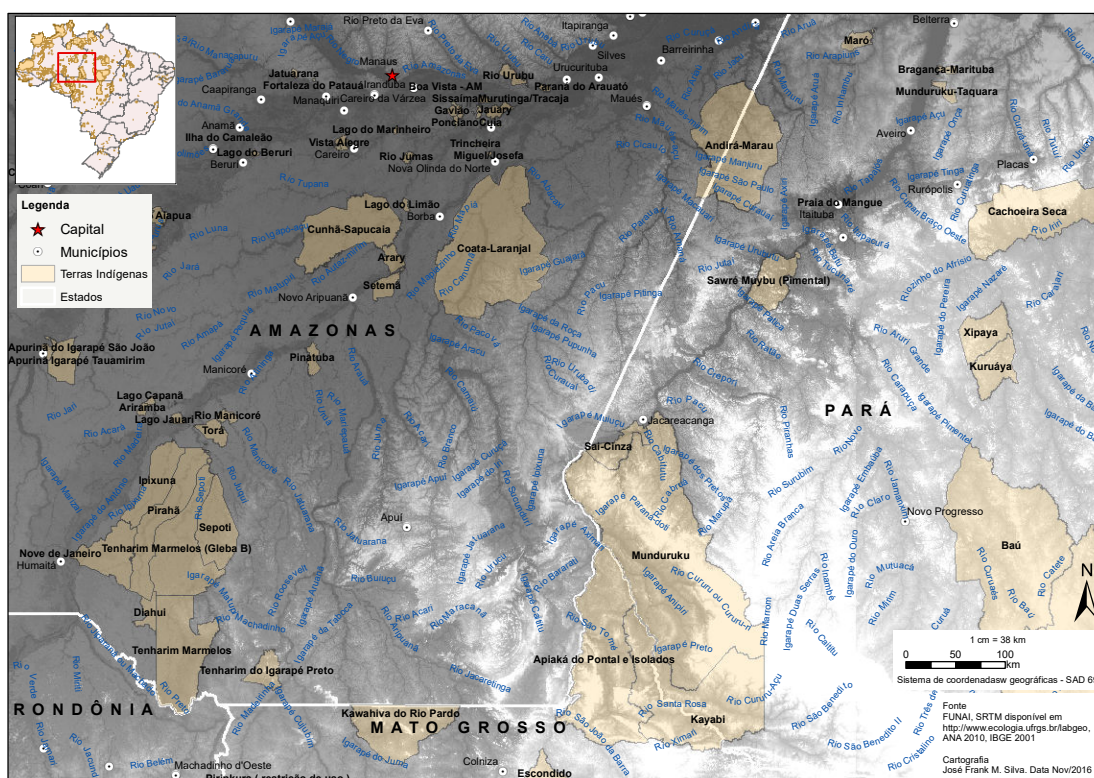
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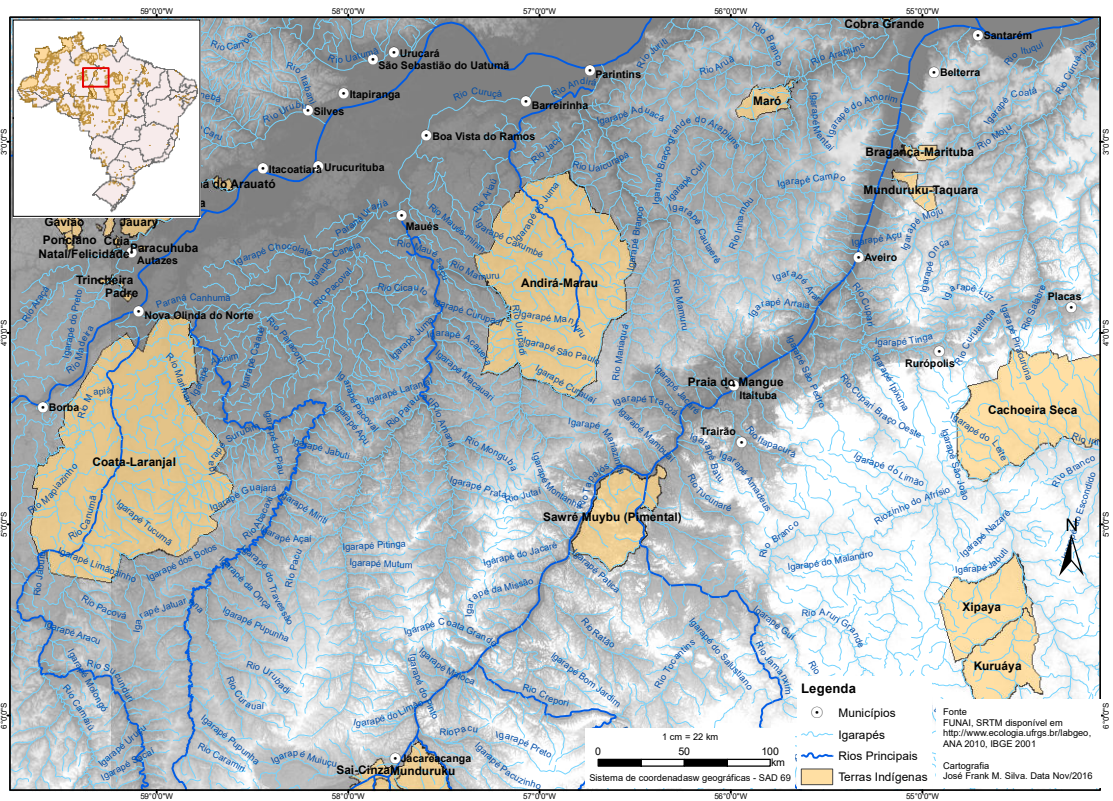
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ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

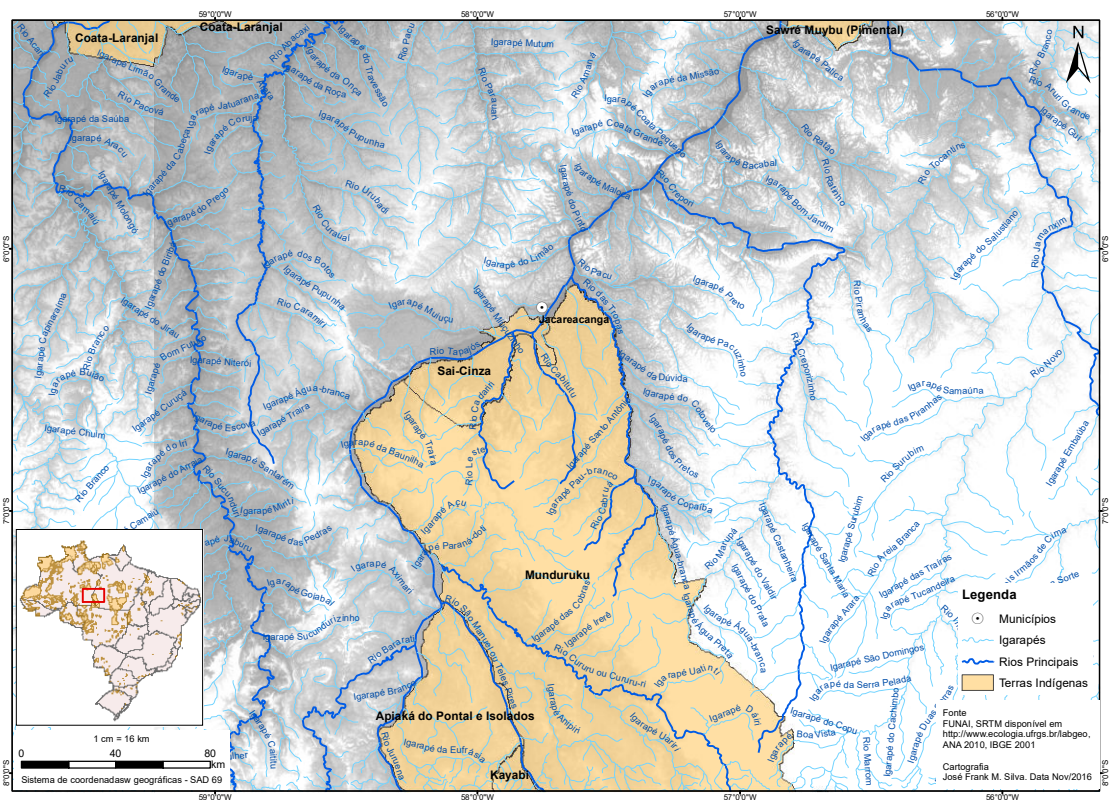
AHU:	Arquivo Historico Ultramarino
AIHGB:	Arquivo do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro- RJ
APEP:	Arquivo Público do Estado do Pará, Belém-PA
APF:	Arquivo Provincial Franciscano, Recife-PE
CELIN/MN/UFRJ:	Centro de Documentação de Línguas Indígenas do Museu Nacional da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, RJ
FBNRJ:	Fundação da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro
FUNAI:	Fundação Nacional do Índio, Brasília-DF
ITF:	Instituto Teológico Franciscano (Província Franciscana da Imaculada Conceição do Brasil), Petrópolis-RJ
MA/AM:	Acervo Documental, Museu Amazônico, Manaus/AM Convento São Francisco, Santarém/PA



Map 1 - Indigenous Lands at the Triplice Frontier: The Amazonas Southeast, North of Mato Grosso and Southwest Pará.



Map 2 - Tapajós-Madeira Interfluvio.



Map 3 - Upper Tapajós Savannah: Crepori-Sucunduri Interfluvio.

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INTRODUCTION

It is significant that 'culture' is sometimes described as a map; it is the analogy which occurs to an outsider who has to find his way around in a foreign landscape and who compensates for his lack of practical mastery, the prerogative of the native, by the use of a model of all possible routes (BOURDIEU, 1977 [1972])

The thesis tells the forgotten history of how the Tapajós river, Brazil, was colonized. Any kind of history, however, when written or told aspires to the truth and to the authority of saying how things were really done in the past. The past, however, is much more difficult to build; it involves meaning and interpretation, discourse and narrative, playing with scales and perspectives. To understand the narratives of colonization one should try to understand the social and political context in which those narratives are born and speculate on the intentions of people's attitudes in the face of their actions. The rampant search for gold arrives at the Tapajós basin around the Eighteenth Century, through navigation, and despite confusion of this nomenclature in the literature¹, gain power with the exploration of the Arinos and the Juruena mines. In addition to using literature on Amazonian history, the thesis also includes some discussion on the constitution of national and international borders, the advancement of Amazonian navigation and the beginning of Amazonian cartography. By placing the three maps at the beginning of this thesis, my intentions were to both situate the reader in an old geographical configuration, as well as to introduce a new perspective on Amazonian hydrography most focused on its river courses and indigenous lands. Cartographical representation goes beyond technical or scaling issues, but represents a conscious choice of what it is to be shown or hidden in that particular image. It is a political decision built by the State, many times disconnected from the very thing it was trying to describe. Mapping, like anthropology, is selective; it takes parts of the culture to describe the whole, as Alfred Gell puts it, "I can easily get

¹ Some authors believe the name Tapajós should be use in reference to the Tapajós, Teles Pires and Juruena, while others believe the Tapajós headwaters begin only at the Arinos-Juruena mouth.

lost here because there are more tracks leading off to the left than are marked on the map” (Gell, 1985: 277). Looking closer, like a surgeon, we might see a foreign landscape, in which our model of all possible routes is undermined by the practical mastery of the natives forcing us, as Bourdieu suggests, to allow the emergence of other stories.

This discrepancy of “how things are really done here” and scientific representations of nature (Ingold and Kurttila, 2000) is what leads us to understand the logic behind the indigenous intermediaries circulating in the Tapajós during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Colonial Government took advantage of travellers maps and gold reports in order to clean out all hostilities that might have ruined business in the area. The previous experience at the Madeira river had already been traumatic against the Mura and Mawé hostilities as well as the exploration of the Guaporé river and the Pareci’s Plateau was equally traumatic. In the hopes to cease hostilities resulted in what was called reductions or pacifications. Unlike what these names might suggest, the undertakings intentions were not so pacifistic. Different indigenous groups were put together and serve indistinctively as labour force. In the Mawé case, however, as I will show, It became clear how their work was undermined. The knowledge Indians had about their movements, and the environment they were part of, could lead to their participation as labourers o paddlers or even to help with the pursuit of gold, that everyone was looking for. By having Mawé, and later on Munduruku Indians, as their guides and interpreters, Nineteenth Century colonization had already delineated an area known as Mundurucania. More specifically, the research asks about the extent to which official knowledge has been shaped by local knowledge and tries to describe some details of these long-term exchanges and collaboration between Indian guides or informants and the non-Indian laymen (Roller, 2012: 110). The Mundurucania territory, in a few words, was the inter-village trade and communication routes used by the Indians of the region between the Tapajós and the Madeira rivers. This thesis describes some of these indigenous routes such as the ones from Jacaré and Mumbuai. By doing so, this work implies that indigenous people may have conceptualized rivers differently than the colonisers and that this different conceptualization generated specific relations between groups within movement and migration. What is clear, however, is that while colonization followed the bigger river courses from headwaters to the mouth, indigenous socialization and communication was happening in-between rivers as well. For this reason, the maps mainly picture the

rivers between the Madeira and the Xingu watersheds. Indigenous territorial logic does not necessarily share our own concepts and frameworks in defining landscapes. Focusing on the topography, geography and other natural attributes of the Tapajós river will help the reader to navigate with me on its interfluves. Some Indians, for different reasons, already had good circulation between indigenous villages and white settlements on the lower river. Some of them were educated in missions or served as prosecutors of the doctrine (Carvalho, 2015), along the mouth of the Madeira or Tapajós. Others served as *práticos* that piloted the canoes in search for valuable wild products inland; guiding expeditions to negotiate resettlements with autonomous native groups or operating in reconnaissance and border demarcation expeditions (Roller, 2012). Some Indians also served as ambassadors, or interpreters for the first uncontacted ethnic groups having been chosen because they spoke the same language (Bessa Freire, 2003). It was through this type of person that exploratory colonization began to gain access and knowledge to this new environment. In fact, the figures indicate that all the information we now have about Amazonia came, at some point, from Amerindians.

The Munduruku Indians had a fundamental role on this flow and have acquired fame since that period, especially because of their production of feather ornaments, and the adoration of warrior and their musical instruments but also because of their participation at the Cabanagem movement. Reading the diary and other archival material of the Franciscan missionary Father Hugo Mense active in the early twentieth century, and the literature on the solidification of the Cururu Misson it becomes clear that the Munduruku were spread out into a large area circulating in at least three of the Amazon main tributaries – Madeira, Tapajós and Xingu. The sense of extension reminds us of the routes in which the whole thesis touches upon. It was as if the various groups could communicate with one another, even when leaving far away. Indeed, that was precisely the case as it is showed by the long migration paths between the Xingu and the Tapajós. The rock waterfalls and other rapids were the main geomorphological impediments for river movements and this thesis describes how the landscape features have directed navigation and exploration of the territory. Waterfalls were also the substrate for more ancient stories told by the Munduruku themselves, describing their society and beliefs. If the indigenous interpreters guided colonization is because they interpreted their territory in a way I have called mythic, making use of already published sources by the Munduruku themselves. Early history

narrates the existent rivalry between village chiefs living in different rivers and movements of war and alliance along the territory. To look at their wanders offer an explanation of how big groups could be fragmented in smaller unities divided by rivers and the way in which they unite and separate depending on the type of social relations they wish to create.

In chapter 1 the thesis looks at the first official descriptions of how the Tapajós headwaters were discovered and depicted during the 18th century. We highlight the importance of Leonardo de Oliveira's exploration, in an overlooked document that could be considered the first written source of the upper Tapajós indigenous groups². Travelers highlight the difficulties of transposing the river's natural barriers, coming from both Mato Grosso and Pará States through their maps that shows the importance of the main rivers as a way to access remote places, feeding the need for colonization. Indigenous nations names and their locations proliferate in the cartographic descriptions. By the middle of the century the Mawé became the most representative group in the Tapajós because of their skill in working with the Guaraná trade and this first part of the thesis finishes talking about the consequences this episode had on the inter-ethnic movement along the basin. It is important to point out that the material for the upper Tapajós is very different from the lower river and that I was concerned only with the penetration of places never reached by non-indians before.

Chapter 2 develops around the process of pacification of the three well known nations of the region -The Mura, the Mawé and the Munduruku. This was a way of relating to abstract collectivities, but also had a significant appeal in discourse and practice. By the beginning of the Nineteenth Century the Tapajós and Madeira rivers formed a comprehensive totality for the white settlers, but one that was not yet fully discovered. It was the place Indians produced and sold products used by the whites, such as Munduruku's feather objects and Mawé's guaraná trade. These objects began to be collected and commercialized by explorers from all over the world, who happened to be in Santarém or Maués especially after the Cabanagem period. The portrayed image of the Indians was ambiguous, once it showed them being at the same time helpful but also having a remarkable warrior past. Here, the recognition of the existence of a space of otherness established prior to white penetration

² Archive District Évora. Public Library. Manuscript. Translated by Mark Harris and Silvia Espelt Bombin. I am grateful to them for granting me access to this document. Also quoted in Menendez (1989).

represented a threat and had to be intellectually neutralized. The distance affirms the difference made by a traveler travelling in time and supposedly acquiring a superior knowledge (Fabian, 1983: 10).

Chapter 3 shows that during the Nineteenth Century longer penetration in the upper rivers waters was only possible through the help of specific Indians who had their own net of relations and places in which they dwelled. The research highlight this using historical sources for the lower Tapajós region around the Cupari river and the Jamanchim river, in what is now the closest to the city of Itaituba. Usually the expeditions met other groups of Indians that already had relations with the Indian guides. This was a time where the Tiacorão Indians were described as living in the Tapajós waterfalls thus, being gatekeepers for white penetration in the upper Tapajós. Here we notice that the first gold explorations did not penetrate the Tapajós savannah, probably because they decided to use the help of different Indians other than the Munduruku. It was only during the rubber boom by the second half of the Nineteenth Century until Murphy's expedition by 1950's that the Tapajós fields, the Cururu and the upper river Indians started to be valued as an indigenous labour force, as shown in chapter 4. This idea is complemented by looking into the Munduruku Indians's participation in the rubber period and their various internal group relations. It is around this time that the connection with rubber houses along the Madeira would increase indigenous traffic along the routes previously shown by the Indians, incorporating other migratory movements from beyond other Amazonian regions.

Chapter 5 concludes the thesis based on some anthropological descriptions of wars involving the Munduruku and other groups, showing that the upper Tapajós was a place of encounter for headhunting indigenous groups. The great number of river references, lead us to understand the area comprised by the Xingu and Madeira rivers as a region of extensive interchanges, with the Tapajós as the articulator. As an homage to the Munduruku, the last part of the thesis is a mythical interpretation of one of their ceremonies, the Adai'Adai ritual, based on the literature both written by the Munduruku themselves and the Franciscans. The intention of the chapter is to 'disorientate' the reader, as much as the Munduruku have disorientated me. In offering some ethnography on the historical sources I bring my own imagination and try to interconnect them in a single story the Munduruku are now facing.

Part of the mission of anthropology is to understand encounters and how people make their culture, their stories and their places. While this thesis will discuss

social relations, it is mostly concerned with the type of encounters one describes. These encounters are only possible through the engagement with the tropical forest and its environment: the rivers, waterfalls, hills and fields. As in literature, writing and walking leave traces, they are forms of reciprocity (Le Breton, 2014), and tracks can be followed to reconstruct a forgotten indigenous history. There will always be many stories taking place at the same time and this research intends to solve part of this ethno-historical puzzle. The conclusion argues for an Amazonian region inhabited by people with their own history and ways of doing things, especially when engaging with other groups. Understanding historically the ways in which these movements, avoidances and contacts were made can give us a new perspective on Amazonian rhythms and way of life (Harris, 2000). Anthropology now has to consider in which direction to go. The discipline is transforming its initial role of explanation into mediation. It has not, however, produced radically subversive forms of understanding (Assad, 1973: 17). Anthropological information therefore, is restricted to the same spaces where it was produced and could be used at anytime for exploitation.

Caught in a Double Bind

The double-bind is based on the in-between feeling of either thinking the world is composed by various forms of believing in it, or that you know things, while other people only believe them (Bateson, 1972 [1956]). This weird form of thinking produced anthropological research interested in describing all forms of human culture, but people everywhere increasingly resist being subjects of inquiry, especially for purposes other than their own (Hymes, 1974: 5). The letters I have exchanged with the Munduruku put me into the double bind of having to explain to the Indians and to my peers the motive of the research I was doing. If I had engaged with the Munduruku without their explicit permission I would have produced illegitimate research; but, on the contrary, by not engaging with them it would also be illegitimate to write in the name of other people. If describing a culture is always done by the use of another (Todorov, 2016 [1982]: 352) anthropological activity is always culturally mediated. Confronted with this, it is better to follow the notion of people's different experiences rather than make value-judgements regarding their beliefs. Historical sources usually speak on behalf of determinate groups rarely taking into consideration what that historical moment could represent for the multiple people involved in that same

situation. I use “represent” to illustrate how we can never know for sure what might be happening. When we recognize the role of Indians as historical mediators, this may also enable us to realize the extent to which the anthropologist has to engage with specific people inside a community and that this family or individual also has a specific point of view and relation with the people surrounding them. This happens because anthropology is nothing more than the disposition one has to live a personal experience together with a human group, and this transforms that experience into ethnographically written research. Implicated in that definition is the less clear message that the aim of anthropological work is to deepen one’s cultural experience through a foreign other (Goldman, 2006: 167). Inspired by what I have personally experienced, the purpose of this research is to show the fundamental historical importance of Indians as cultural mediators; guides and informants. On the basis of their previous experiences Indians, were selected as sources of knowledge used by the colonization movement (Roller, 2012: 118). Today we understand how, a more collaborative work is needed not based in the old-fashioned dichotomy informants/anthropologists, but stimulating local people to be authors of their own particular history.

The interest in the study of Amerindian history was always secondary to the official history of colonization. This situation has changed, in anthropology, and for the last thirty years indigenous people have conquest fundamental rights, guaranteed by the 1988 Brazilian Constitution, especially in relation to land demarcation. Indians have always told their own stories, which were never written into the official documents now stored in public archives and libraries around the world. They can tell a different story enabling people to hear and judge the role they assumed in Brazilian history. As I show in the last part of the thesis, these other stories must not be read as mere documental sources, but as different regimes of histories. Maybe because of that, at the present, indigenous groups are declaring war against the Brazilian government such is the case of the Munduruku and other indigenous people from the Tapajós river and beyond. For them (whoever they might be) we are all non-Indians, *pariwat* in Munduruku. Like *pariwat*, this thesis dwells on the use of ethnic names and attributions along the history of the upper Tapajós indigenous circulation and meetings. The names are used always when there is a relation between two or more collectiveness. In 2013, when this research began, people’s lives have been transformed, since the Brazilian state announced the building of several hydroelectric dams in the Tapajós

river and its tributaries, an act that will change the landscape of the river forever. This thesis will show that during the colonial period government action was deliberately taken trying to exterminate indigenous groups that represented a threat to social order, more recent official political decisions are still harming indigenous groups by taking away what enables them to live, the river.

The discussion brought in the first chapter concerning the flying observer is deeply connected to the perennial work of anthropologists. This has instigated me to understand the Tapajós river in a broader manner, into what one can call the deep history of the region. This means that archaeological, geological, geographical and ethnographical data were mobilized in order to collectively construct a global and in-depth picture of the situation. In this sense, mythical history is not only a different tradition of thinking, but also could be considered a source used to explain when cultural contact happens. The challenge for a historical anthropology is, then, not only to know how historical events are ordered by different cultures but, most importantly, how, in this process, culture itself is reordered (Sahlins, 1981). This led me to reflect in which senses the historical and mythical sources allowed me to understand the social organization of indigenous groups in the Amazon region.

What I understand by a region then, has multiple layers, including landscape; which represents both the scope of investigation of the thesis, but also a superposition of native movements at the surface of the land. Movements are better represented by the stories people tell about their comings and goings. With the increasing of colonial contact and exploration during the 18th century this concept gained substance and went through a series of transformations better shown by Miguel Menendez in his migration studies for the Tapajós-Madeira area (1981). But on a closer look, we can see that these people followed specific paths in relation to their group's affinities respecting a certain logic order one could interpret as "itineraries".

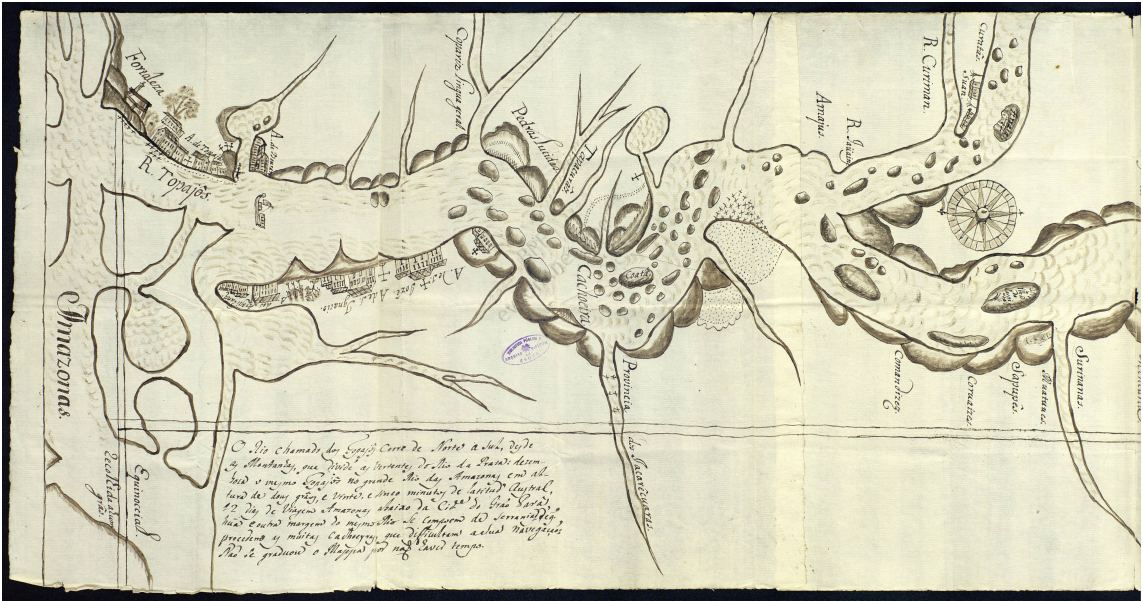
As an ethnographer working with documents that don't include indigenous voices or words, the difficulty of working with historical material is always the same: having to investigate the silences and pauses which made possible these writings to exist. With the indigenous perspective in mind I read different published materials about the Tapajós river and its people such as choreographies, FUNAI official reports of land demarcation, historical accounts, missionary reports, archival documents, geographical explorations, geological surveys, museum inventories besides reading some ethnography and mythological material of the indigenous people involved,

especially the Mawé, Mura and Munduruku Indians. The research on the history of upper parts of the rivers follows the additional difficulty of lack of documentation on the topic mainly because of the nature of the object involved, a place that has constantly been crossed, changing its physiognomy at the velocity things change in nature.

Some of the guiding questions for the research were systematized in a table attached at the end of the thesis as an appendix. We follow the historical sources asking by which name ethnic groups from the Tapajós basin call each other as well as unpacking how they refer to the wild Indians. How do they self-identify? In which locations do they live today and what are the stories they tell from each place? I have standardized the names of localities and indigenous people for the current spelling conventions. It goes without saying that this Thesis represents my story, my world and not the truth either about the Munduruku Indians or the Tapajós. I hope that publishing my thesis could be a good way out of this bind.

FIRST PART

THE ROUTE TO COLONIZATION IN THE 18TH CENTURY



Map 4 - Manoel Ferreyra. Breve notícia do rio Tapajós cujas cabeceyras últimas se descobrirão no anno de 1742.

CHAPTER 1: AVID PURSUIT OF THE TAPAJÓS WATERSHEDS

It is useless to think of navigating the upper river by steam, and perfect nonsense to talk either of destroying the falls, or of making canals around them. Matto Grosso must seek some other channel of communication with the Amazonas than the Tapajos (Charles F. Hartt, 1874: 12).

Introduction:

When, in the year of 1742, Leonardo de Oliveira saw gold and diamonds in profusion at the crossway of two copious streams and stepped into its margins to catch some he could not know the streams were flowing into the Amazon river. After all, navigation by the Madeira river was blocked from the year 1733, because the authorities wanted to avoid a gold rush similar to the one which occurred in the previous century in Minas Gerais. The chain of mountains dividing the two most important water basins of South America, the Amazon and the Platino Basin was also a place rich in alluvial deposits and minerals. Unlike his *paulista* predecessors he traversed the Juruena headwaters down an unknown but abundant river, reaching the mission of S. José dos Maitapus (Pinhel) four months later; from there, he easily arrived at the Mission of the Tapajós (Santarém), almost in the place where the Amazon river can be seen. With the help and influence of the Jesuit priest Manoel Ferreyra, a map was drawn up of what was now the Tapajos river and a description of the landscape and people de Oliveira saw during his descent. According to Serafim

Leite, Ferreira's account is the last reference of the Tapajós for the Jesuits, that once upon a time, dominated all the lower river until the waterfalls (Leite, 1943, III: 366)³.

I must say that the priests have five to six villages at that river mouth, some of them quite populous, and under different reasons, are trying to avoid navigation from outsiders. I have obtained confidential information that the same priests have discovered gold mines on that river (Mendonça, 2005: 60)⁴

To travel along the Tapajós, then, came out of the economic necessity of exploring and exporting gold from Mato Grosso to Pará. In a 1752 *ordem régia* prescribing the form that communication between Pará and Mato Grosso should take, we read that:

And to avoid loss of gold entry taxes I declare that anyone intending to trespass the district of Goiás and Mato Grosso or willing to navigate down to Pará by any route other than the Madeira and Guaporé rivers entering and registering on Aroaia be enjoined for ten years in Angola (Barata, 1921: 149)⁵

Graça Salgado (1985) makes an administrative distinction between two posts working for the gold commissary: the *intendente do ouro* and the *fiscal da intendência do ouro*. Both of them, supervised by the *indentente geral do ouro*, had as one of main duties to examine the “descaminhos do ouro” and do the necessary diligences in relation to the situation. The idea that gold could be off track resembles the importance of Ferreyra's document precisely because he was becoming aware of a new route that

³ The Jesuits had never gone so far. Although already at the mouth of the Tapajós in the 18th century,, they stuck to the lower river where the Tapajó Mission (Santarém) stood (Bettendorff).

⁴ “Devo dizer a V.Exa que estes padres têm na boca daquele rio cinco ou seis aldeias, e algumas delas mui populosas, que tem intentado debaixo de diversos pretextos, que ninguém navegue aquele rio mais do que eles: que tenho tido algumas informações, de que os mesmos padres têm descoberto minas naquele rio”

⁵ See also letter from Francisco Pedro de M. Gorjão to the king in AHU_CU_BRASIL_Mato Grosso. 1749, Outubro, 25. Grão Pará.

would describe a movement of discovery and colonization of the upper Tapajós. As much as the *Intendente*, the position of *Ouvidor* allowed the one in charge to take out *devassas*. *Devassas* were no more than formal inquiries about some specific subject, such as for example, the navigator's testimony after returning from a forest collecting expedition (Roller, 2012: 108-9). After Oliveira, and the Jesuits, many other exploratory expeditions followed this course. In this chapter, we look at the official reports of the pathfinders João de Souza Azevedo and Almeida Serra to obtain more information about the entrances to the Tapajós still being used in the 18th century. Also, we turn to the writing of *Ouvidor* Sampaio, José Gonçalves da Fonseca to see how the knowledge of the Madeira river was assembled together with the Tapajós, especially in relation to the Mura Indians and their displacements. Finally, we compare the evolution of the cartographic knowledge of this specific part of the Amazon region together with the perception of the natural elements of the places these pioneers have been and the impediments to getting there (including hostile Indians and waterfalls were), solidifying what one might call an *internal communication line* (Tavares-Bastos, [1866] 1975: 236) with the Mato Grosso Plateau, first pioneered by the *paulistas* at the end of the XVIII century.

The story of the pioneer in the upper Tapajós is, however, a romantic image. It can say more about the improvement of cartographic knowledge, as associated both with the increment of technical devices of measuring distances, the art of drawing maps and the perception of the explorer onto mapping that space, than the actual people they met. This, inevitably, gives the reader the sensation explorers were penetrating an empty space, full of forest and rivers, but no people. This feeling is dual, I argue, as the descriptions of the landscape themselves feature natural obstacles to the advancement of river colonization and place their original inhabitants as expectators. The intention is to settle the reader into an exercise of imagination that congregates Indians, landscape and its resources.

Headwater Discoverers: Flying Observers

Usually, the *paulistas* expeditions left between March and April when rains were already heavy in the Amazon region and the rivers full, minimizing the risks of navigation. The alternation of activities and landscape transformation happening in the Tapajos during the rainy and the dry period in Amazonia allows me to introduce a discussion of river and movements. Journeys into the *sertões*, in the colonial period, usually followed the course of the rivers (Chambouleyron et al., 2010: 23) or alternatively, forming the, so-called, *paulista march*, a manner of walking in single-file over the course of half of the day. But during the dry season some rapids were impassable, meaning that the direction of travel had constantly change. . This situation was accentuated with the beginning of the rubber period when native groups from the inland areas, such as the Munduruku, for example, started to be coopted to work as rubber tappers. However, together with Kok, I argue that:

In the fluvial ways the Paulistas conserved, almost intact, the indigenous techniques of building canoes and navigating through the river waterfalls (Kok, 2009: 97)⁶

The Mato Grosso region had long ago attracted the attention of the *bandeiras e entradas paulistas*. Followingg the exhaustion of Sorocaba and all the Southeast Region of Brazil till Curitiba, what were now called *monções*, fluvial expeditions to populate and do commerce (Holanda, [1997] 2007: 322) started to pursue new routes; first of all, in the direction of Minas Gerais crossing to reach Bahia as well as some investment in the Goiás and the Mato Grosso direction, going down the Tietê until they reached the Paraná, then going upriver entering the Pardo until the headwaters of a little river called *Camapuã*. The Camapua settlement lies exactly half way on the route to Cuiabá and started to be constantly attacked by the Southern Kayapó. This Kayapó group, according to Antonio Pires de Campos ([1723] 1862) occupied also the Pardo, Tacuari, Nhandui and Guixum rivers. Around the first half of the 18th century, the Paulistas and Pires de Campos together with 500 Bororo Indians invaded Mato Grosso lands aiming to pacify the Kayapó. The Kayapó became the Bororo's main enemy and stories of fights between them started to be preserved in their memories.

⁶ “Nos caminhos fluviais, os paulistas conservaram praticamente intactas as técnicas indígenas de construção de embarcações e de mareagem pelos rios encachoeirados”

According to Martius, the whole voyage took from four to five months (Spix and Martius, 1817-20: 72). A *varadouro*⁷ was taken from there on land to the headwaters of the Coxim connecting the Taquari and Paraguai rivers. With the discovering of gold mines in Goiás, Villa Bella and Santa Izabel, mining exploration was propelled to the north:

From 1640 large-scale expeditions gave way to new forms of organizing indigenous vassalage. Travelling to the *sertão* became more independent, more frequent and spread out in a larger area. In fact, the most significant change was in relation to the expeditions geographical orientation, in the sense that the *paulistas* saw the urgent necessity of looking for a substitute for the Guarani Indians which has served as labour-force in the previous operations (Monteiro: 1994: 79)⁸

Besides facing the Kayapó and Payaguá Indians, the Paulista expeditions to Cuiabá had to surmount a total of 113 waterfalls crossing the Tietê, Parawá, Pardo, Camapuã, Cochim, Taquari, Paraguai, Porrudos (São Lourenço) to finally reach the chain of high mountains launching many river headwaters, the Cuiabá included. Despite all of the difficulties it was still easier than to follow the Madeira-Mamoré route down to reach Pará (Baena, 1866: 344). In his *Notícias* about the Cuiabá mines, *Pay Pirá*, relates that:

All the rivers where the Pareci live and many others that I can hardly name flow to the Gram-Pará. Going down this plateau other nations inhabit the border with Grão Pará, they are the Poritacas

⁷ Varadouro is a route opened in the middle of the woods connecting two places or a canal connecting two rivers allowing quick moving from one to another

⁸ “A partir da década de 1640, as expedições de grande porte cederam lugar a novas formas de organização do apresamento. De modo geral, as viagens rumo ao sertão passaram a ser de menor porte, mais frequentes e mais dispersas em termos geográficos. De fato, a mudança mais significativa residia na orientação geográfica das expedições, na medida em que os paulistas viam-se obrigados a procurar um substituto adequado aos cativos guarani que haviam alimentado as operações anteriores”

who are neighbours of the corsair and cannibal Indians called Cavihis (Pires de Campos, 1862: 443).

Together with *Anhanguera*⁹, they represented, at the end of the XVII century, the recognition of the region as a mythical space to be occupied on foot:

From the pleateau headwaters, today's Martinho de Oliveira properties, Antonio Pires would say they departed going in the North and Northwest directions. Sunrise was on their right while sunset was on their left, marching only half of the day they still had time to search for life: hunting and taking wild honey, the basic forms of the transfrontiersman livelihood. And marching at this same rhythm for over eight days non-stop, they came across a river running to the North. Its waters were salty and with a milky like colour where they gave the name of Paranatinga, translated to our language meaning the white sea (Taunay, 1924-50: 59)¹⁰

Transfrontiersman acquired their experience by following their native guides into indigenous trails, or in other words, they formed their knowledge, along the way. These included the jacumaúbas, the canoe pilots, or even the *picadores de mato* (Bueno, 2011: 103) whose millennial knowledge was acquired from the observation of water movements, its courses and rock locations. These native guides, whose names have now been forgotten by history, were the ones who proffered, probably in their native language, the names first written onto those maps. Some are Tupi names,

⁹ In 1719 the *bandeirante* Pascoal Moreira Cabral discovered gold in Mato Grosso and three years later, Bartolmeu Bueno da Silva did the same in Goiás.

¹⁰ “Das cabeceiras da Chapada, sitio que é hoje de Martinho de Oliveira, dirá o ditto Antonio Pires, que partiram seguindo dentre o norte e noroeste. Levando o nascente pelo lado direito e o poente no esquerdo, fazendo marchas tão somente de metade do dia, para, no mais tempo que sobrasse, buscar a vida, matando caças, e tirando mel sylvestre, que era o sustento commum de todos os sertanistas; e marchando assim ao cabo de oito dias, deram com um rio, que fazia sua corente para o norte, o qual era de cór de leite suas aguas com muitos bôtos do mar salgado, a que chamaram — Paranatinga, — que vertido em nosso idioma vem a dizer, mar branco”

some are not, but we are going to see how these categories are unstable. What matters, however, was the employment of their workforce. Some authors provide us with a better idea by saying that:

In these colonial enterprises, the contribution of the indigenous people was instrumental, especially in relation to giving detailed information not only about local geography and topography but teaching other necessary knowledge for the representation of the terrestrial and fluvial routes in mapping and sketches (Kok, 2009: 92)¹¹

The Alvará from October 27th of 1733 prohibited the openness of new routes to enter or leave any of the already well-established mines. The intention of this was to avoid a sudden depopulation of Pará through the prospective profits one could make in the mines of Cuyabá and Goiás. The recently-discovered fluvial route could be, in a similar sense, a lawless way *out* of the mines. Until finally revoked by Official Decision in 1752, the Madeira Navigation was closed for explorations (Almeida, 2009: 218). Explorations of the Madeira begun during João da Maia da Gama administration (1722-28) where:

The Madeira was first navigated from Santa Cruz dos Cajubabas until the Tapajós, opening new routes to the sertões where one could bring heathen and natural products. An expedition was send to discover the French borderlines and in all these ventures missionaries from diferent religions and indians were engaged (Azevedo, 1901: 173)¹²

¹¹ “Nessas empresas coloniais, as contribuições dos grupos nativos foram imprescindíveis no que se refere a fornecer informações detalhadas não só sobre a topografia e a geografia, bem como outros conhecimentos, necessários à elaboração de mapas, esboços, técnicas de representação e orientação nos caminhos terrestres e fluviais do sertão”

¹² “Se navegou pela primeira vez o rio Madeira, até Santa Cruz dos Cajubabas, e se fez a exploração do Tapajós, abrindo novos sertões, de onde poderiam baixar gentios e produtos naturaes. Enviou-se também uma expedição a descobrir os marcos da divisão de limites com os franceses, e em todas estas empresas se ocuparam indios e missionarios das diversas religiões”

From this period, we have the report of Francisco Mello Palheta expedition who left Belém at the end of 1722 entering the Madeira at the beginning of the next year. According to the copy published in Capistrano de Abreu (1988) we read that, after entering this river, Mello Palheta took shelter in a village of *Juma* Indians at a place they baptized *Santa Cruz de Iriumar*. With the help of the priest João de São Paio he managed to traverse the first waterfalls of the Madeira where the priest took leave to return to the Abacaxis Mission. The expedition went on passing the Jamari river and transposing four important waterfalls *Maguari* and *Iaguerites*, *Mamiu* and *Apama*. He continues:

Soon after daybreak we advanced to the Montes port. Our guide assured us it led to a route going down to where the heathens from that place lived but we did not see routes and the trails were already abandoned (Capistrano de Abreu, 1988: 122)¹³

The description of waterfalls and rapids seems to evoke a requirement of the explorers to establish landmarks (or rivermarks, to be more precise) that could easily become maplike. Drawing a map departing from the line of the river is important for creating a route to where one can follow. But the awareness created by establishing familiar terrain is very different from one to another. To draw a line is also to depart from some discrete point capable of composing a surface. The four main natural elements appearing in Oliveira's first description are: the white river (rio Branco), the harevan river (rio Harevan), the tapacura river (rio Tapacura) and the coatá waterfall (cachoeira do Coatá).

A form which, when on the otherwise empty basic plane, may still be considered to be a point, must be termed a plane when, for example, a very thin line appears with it upon the basic plane (Kandinsky, 1947 [1926]: 29)

¹³ “Logo que amanheceu seguimos viagem ao porto dos Montes, onde disse o guia vira um caminho que descia ao porto que era do Gentio, que habitava naquele lugar, mas não se viu trilhas nem caminhos, por estar já deserto”

The surface formed by this line, is however *in* the world not *of* the world (Ingold, 2000: 241) in the sense that many other inscriptive processes are happening in that same *region*. By that we mean exactly the historiography of the Tapajós region we are evoking based on the primary sources, such as we have presented thus far. Looking through history is as useful to understand its temporal character as the flow of the river itself is. Drawing a map means not only embracing landscape features during the reconnaissance, but it also indicating places following a bird's-eye view at the time the artifact is drawn. Like the Chinese water-colour landscape, in which a correspondance exists between the personal body and the body of the world, as exemplified by Jackson (1983), here the body of the river and the things that are in there are understood differently according to indigenous action in the world.

Scratched the rivers with its twists and turns showing also where they narrow and widen or even form islands; they are left there, until the time of water-colour which is after the whole terrain had been already configured (Bueno, 2011: 115)¹⁴

The Indigenous Tapajós

The map we are now going to present was found in the Biblioteca Pública de Evora, Portugal CXV: 2-15, n. 6-7 and it was written by Manoel Ferreyra, a Jesuit priest, describing Leonardo de Oliveira's adventure¹⁵. In the first part of the description, the priest tells us how Leonardo de Oliveira went downriver and after that, he describes the river again, this time using Jesuit information gathered in the Tapajó village. Of course, this was a three stage translation act because the practical Leonardo de Oliveira undoubtedly had indigenous contacts inside the larger forest. So, as one reads a document like that, it is worth bearing in mind that

¹⁴ "Riscados assim os rios com suas voltas, e cotovelos, mostrando também as partes em que estreitam, ou alargão, ou fazem algumas ilhas, se deixarão até o tempo de se lhes darem as aguadas, que é depois de configurado o mais terreno"

¹⁵ Map reproduced with the permission of Mark Harris and Silvia Espelt Bombín

information was first gathered by indigenous guides and interpreters that could translate the terrain to Oliveira. As he did not always have the ability to draw a map he may have asked the priest for help. By the hand of Manoel Ferreyra¹⁶, then, Oliveira gives us, I believe, the first descriptions of the Indigenous groups living in the upper Tapajós river and their respective domains and places of habitation. According to the descriptions, after passing the Kingdom of the *Jaguains* he got to the ancient kingdom of the *Periquitos*, the place where the *Guarupás* lived. The *Guarupás*, however, were in danger of disappearing as much because of attacks by *Mancucurus*, a big and known group of the upper Tapajós. The *Mancucurus* river was a white-water color river, also known before as *Rio Branco*. Oliveira believed that could be close to the Bakairi river also found in the Tapajós headwaters.

According to Ferreyra's map, going up river from the domain of the Mancucurus to that of the Bakairi takes seven to eight days. Going down, it takes five days to go from the Guarupás river to the Javain and it takes ten days to go from the Coatá waterfalls to the Mission of São José. Just above the Mission of São José, was the mouth of the Cupariz river:

that cut across the Xingu river and still have, even if, in small numbers, there are some heathen. Until the waterfalls, it is navigable by large canoes (Ferreyra, 1742)¹⁷

In front of the waterfalls lived the Jacareguaras who fought the troops of Leonardo de Oliveira. One can travel from the Jacareguaras to the land of the Jaguains in a day trip and from the Jaguain to the Periquitos' land in one more day. It is also possible, as Ferreyra points out, to go by land, from the region of the waterfalls on the right side to the land of the Periquitos and Apencuria:

¹⁶ It is not a coincidence that the Jesuit Manuel Ferreira, first missionary and founder of the Borari's village Mission, in Alter do Chão, in 1738 was the writer of Leonardo de Oliveira's biography, the first *paulista* explorer to give accurate information about the Tapajós navigability (Reis, 1940: 230-1).

¹⁷ "q corta no nascente para a parte do Rio Xingu, e tem ainda algú gentio, pos q. [?] pouco, deste lhe as cachoeiras he rio navegavel de canoas grandes, com muitas Ilhas"

With two days walking inland with(in) one can find many different indigenous villages (Tapuyas) even so all of them have the ability to communicate in their own language. In four days of travelling begin the residence of the Apencuria and Periquitos (Ferreyra, 1742)¹⁸

The *Javaim*¹⁹ were according to Manoel Baena (apud Steward, 1948: 272) “a warlike, cannibalistic tribe then occupying the middle Tapajóz”. Pushed out by the Munduruku, they began to move northward along the river. Martius had already identified the name *Javaim* as the name given by the *Apiaká* Indians to the older people, meaning also hunter in other dialects, like the *Camé* (Martius, 1867: 383).

The best description of these Indians is, however, from Father João Daniel:

The Javaim Indians, already mentioned as been implacable enemies of the Gurupás, were known by the ephitet of eaters, or better, people-eaters. They differentiate from all other nations by having not the whole face, but the cheeks permanently scratched with drawings scarified by agouti teeth (Daniel, 1976: 278)²⁰

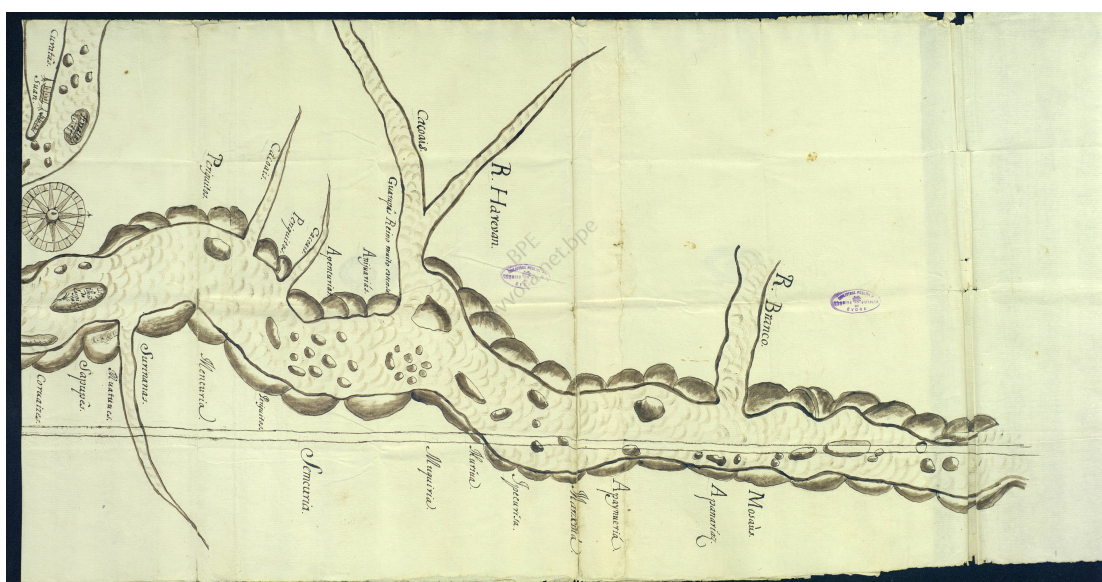
After the Javaim, the next named river in Ferreyra’s map is the Tapacura river, land of the *Tapacorá* Indians and one way of getting into the *Jacaré-uaras* empire. The Jacaré Indians were hidden in the Cupari-açú headwaters probably avoiding been chased by the Munduruku (Barbosa Rodrigues, 1875: 124). Ferreyra’s map also shows the name of the Harevan River and Cacoais. The Harevan river was a contact point between diferente nations, Menendez remembers:

¹⁸ “Dois dias de caminhada pela terra adentro se acham muitas aldeias diferentes de Tapuyas ainda que todos tem sua língua completa de comunicação. Em quatro dias de viagem é a tapera dos índios Apencuria e Periquitos”

¹⁹ Also known as Jaguain, Hy-au-ahim. Ya-vaims and Javaés (Martius) and Iaguains (João Daniel)

²⁰ “Os índios Javaim, que dissemos acima serem inimigos jurados dos Gurupás, além de se fazerem temidos por papões, ou papa gentes, tem também seu distintivo, que os diferencia das mais nações, e é o terem a cara riscada: não toda, mas nas faces, em que se jarretam com algum dente de cotia, de sorte que fiquem os golpes permanentes, em que fazem seus debuxos, e florões”

At its right margin we find Mawé indians (about seventeenth kilometers to the interior). The Urupá occupied the southeast limit of the Harevan river or São João da Barra, a Juruena tributary, while the Tapacoraria or Tapacora – some of them happen to be in Vila Franca- lived on the Tapacora-uassu and Tapacora-mirim, both of them tributaries of the lower Tapajós. At the Harevan's left margin, between the 4° 30' e 6° 50' latitudes, dwell the Jakareguá, Sapopé, Surirana and Periquito (Menendez, 1992: 284)²¹



Map 5 - Breve notícia do rio Tapajós cujas cabeceyras últimas se descobrirão no anno de 1742.

Also in Ferreyra's document:

After all the natural obstacles one crosses the also populous Arinos river where not long ago gold and diamonds were discovered that resulted in the closing of this route for public usage (Ferreyra, 1742)²²

²¹ "Na margem direita encontramos os Mawé (quarto léguas terra adentro), os Urupá, com limite sul do rio Harevan ou São João da Barra, afluente do Juruena, os Tapacoraria ou Tapacora, nos rios Tapacora-uassu e Tapacora-mirim (afluente do Baixo Tapajós), grupo do qual alguns foram decididos em Vila Franca. Na margem esquerda do rio localizam-se os Jakareguá, Sapopé, Surinana e Periquito entre 4° 30' e 6° 50' de latitude sul"

²² "Depois de todos estes obstáculos da natureza, faz barra o rio dos Arinos, povoado de muito gentio e onde esteve há pouco o novo descobrimento de muito ouro, e

But, what are the sources of the drawings and land descriptions Manoel Ferreyra made? It is possible to believe that they were created through direct observation of the landscape, only if you believe that a landscape can stand on its own. In the act of telling his story to Ferreyra, Oliveira himself was already practising an act of remembrance. He was journeying from one place to another, helped by their indigenous and local informants, using their labourforce, something almost always forgotten by the supposedly first-hand observations of white penetration. As Neil Safier critically puts it for the La Condamine mid-eighteenth century description of the Amazon:

Despite all his interest in “getting hold of reality” on describing the river characteristics Le Condamine based himself in a letter written by a Cuzco resident which spent all his life looking for information on the route taken by their grandfathers on the previous century (Safier, 2009: 97)²³

It is difficult to find out who helped him under what circumstances and our documentation does not allow us to go in that direction. What we do know, however, is that Leonardo de Oliveira was navigating during the dry season which allowed him to observe and describe some topographical features of the river, like important rocks whereas “when rivers are full not only this but all the others go to the bottom” (Ferreyra, 1742)²⁴. He was not only describing, he was transposing the same obstacles over and over again. Because of the difficulties he decided to depict some and not others. To say the description of the landscape is arbitrary does not mean to say it is aleatory, as it demonstrates the political intention of the mapmaker to show some elements and hide others.

diamantes, mandado fechar, sob gravissimas penas, a instâncias do contratador de diamantes”

²³ “A despeito do seu interesse em “assegurar-se da realidade” das características do rio, apoiou-se numa carta escrita por um residente de Cuzco que passava a sua vida a procurar informações precisas sobre o caminho seguido por seu bisavô no século anterior”

²⁴ “em rio cheio, assim esta, como as mais, vão ao fundo”

The silencing of other histories written by Leonardo de Oliveira and all the other expeditions ended up highlighting some names that persisted in the literature for the following centuries. It is not by chance that, after expelling the Jesuits from Pará, around that same period, Governor Mendonça Furtado drastically changed all the village names in the Tapajós to Portuguese names. Although the villages were officially given Portuguese names, indigenous names remained the same, as we can see in Oliveira's map. The same is true for the river names.

What I am trying to say, in other words, is that we are talking about the perspective of someone *in* the river, navigating downriver or upriver. The river perspective allows one to see what is happening on both banks of the river, forward or backwards and also inside the river itself. It reminds us of the description of woven textile: the width is constant; it can only expand the length. Explorers' descriptions were the equivalent of a bird eye's view, where everything could be described from above, and the observer could take himself out of the picture anonymously. Even so, landmark orientations figure in the map as important. From that point of view, it does not seem so strange that we hardly know who Leonardo de Oliveira or even Manoel Ferreyra were. It is a linear continuity, in the sense that explorers were worried about where the river begins and where it ends. Tim Ingold contrasts this vertical mode of observation used by modern cartography to the lateral mode of integration practice by the inhabitants of that place, forming a wider network of coming and going, which he calls *region* (2000: 227). The *region* is important because it contextualises movements and places, but they are only known, by taking the myriad of pathways and making things up as one goes along (Rosaldo, 1989: 92). Later on, however, Ingold argues that it is not the lateral and the vertical mode that are in conflict, but that together they produce scientific knowledge that is different from the integrated practical understanding of the life world (2011: 154). The idea of going along has much to do with the tradition in British social anthropology of discussing improvisation and innovation as inherent in social practice (Brunner, 1984: 13). Ingold's reference to the occurrence of things is in consonance with reflections on political processes in Amazonia because it expresses categorical rather than genealogical terms, corresponding more to the indigenous point of view. For Ingold, the genealogical model of the network could be contrasted to what he calls the mesh of social life, which is another form of referring to the formation of collectiveness. The concept of meshwork, bought from the French philosopher Henri Lefevre is formed by the

following of paths, tracks or footprints (Ingold, 2004; Ingold, 2010; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008). In short, traces of movement through the surface of the world. For this reason, this thesis takes an interest in geology and archaeology. Interethnic relations, myths, rituals and other stories could be also considered to form and be defined by the meshwork.

According to Cortesão, the official beginning of Amazonian cartography dates from 1743 with the Le Condamine chart, which shows his return from the Andes and passage past Belém. At the same time observation of a place was made on the basis of astronomical method (Cortesão, 1965: 416). Geographical mapping took cartographic form with the clerics Diogo Soares, Domingos Caspassi, and later on inspired a whole group of technicians in the demarcation commissions, including the mathematical priests Ignác Szentmártonyi, Giovanni Angelo Brunelli, the cartographer Vitório da Costa, Henrique João Wilkens, Teodósio Constantino de Chermont and Antonio José Landi. We can only know, today, that the upper Tapajós latitude is considered to be 15° below Ecuador because since the 18th century, telescopes and pendulum-clocks were used to calculate the longitudes inasmuch as the precision of the instrument was always subject to environmental variations. Because of that, the calculations were not reliable enough (as they begin to be with the invention of the chronometer). Instruments help to elaborate a geographical chart of the exact locality so as to decide which step to take next. Measuring latitude was easier and one needed only to know where the North Star was; longitude, however, was necessarily arbitrary requiring two distant observers to make astronomical measurements at the same time (Moura, 2008). For Hecht,

This enterprise involved using the astronomical innovations in cartography pioneered by the French Royal geographer Guillaume Lisle (1675-1726) to generate greater precision in geographical mapping. The maps by the padres were meant to accurately document the extent of Luso occupation and the physical location of the rivers (Hecht, 2013: 94)

Besides describing landscape sensibilities either lived in the river or seen from above, in the map, explorations paid a lot of attention to, all the lived experience of the forest.

The Profitable Tapajós

Taking advantage of the fact that public attention was focused on the Madeira river, João de Souza Azevedo, together with Pascoal Arruda, began to believe that it could be possible and profitable to connect Mato Grosso with Belém using another route. To find another way of making the trip, however, required following the traces left behind, many of which were never recorded as oral accounts. Here, however, we are not interested in entering into a debate over *who* discovered the river, not only because we are willing to rethink what the word ‘discovery’ means, but also because the *who* is less important than the *how*.

He has navigated until the lower river Missions and stayed longer in S. José, with the Jesuit priest Manoel dos Santos when in July 1747, appeared in Pará where he told everybody that leaving the Arinos he found gold in a river which he called Tres Barras but being incapable of returning to the Arinos because of the strong current, invested everything in Pará when he ask for permission to return upriver by the same Tapajós to where he had came from before (Fonseca, 1866: 370)²⁵

The discussions remained valid also at the time of Bishop Queiroz’s expeditions:

²⁵ “Chegou com efeito as primeiras missões d’este rio, e na de S. José, de que era missionário o padre Manoel dos Santos, jesuíta, se demorou alguns meses, até que no de Julho de 1747 apareceu no Pará, onde deu parte que, saindo do arraial dos Arinos, rio abaixo, na diligencia de explorar aquelas campanhas, achara no riacho, que intitulou das Tres-Barras, grande abundancia de ouro, de que oferecia meia libra por amostra, a qual com o seu depoimento judicial foi remetida a Sua Magestade, pela secretaria d’Estado da repartição da marinha. E sem embargo de que no mesmo depoimento disse, que ele depois de achar aquela quantidade de ouro no dito riacho, não pudera ir dar parte aos Arinos por embaraçá-lo a grande correnteza das aguas; contudo, depois de empregar no Pará bastante quantia de ouro em fazendas de transporte, pediu licença para voltar pelo mesmo Tapajos, á parte dónde havia saído”

In reality, the headwaters of the Tapajós lie much higher, on the north side of the Paraguayan plateau, however entering in inaccessible land, finally arrives at a place we can see. Still he comes from far away in a place near the headwaters of the Arinos, the main tributary of what we now call Tapajós (S. José, 1847: 93)²⁶

And he adds that,

Obliged to descend the Arinos, and unable to go back because of the currents, after many adventures he got to the Tapajós headwaters, a considerable river which sometimes gives me the impression of wanting to be the Amazon and effectively could be, if we consider the Tres Barras river which originate here by three mouths (idem)²⁷

João de Souza Azevedo's words were the most detailed at the time. He began to describe his difficulties quite poetically:

On day seven the navigation was among small islands that soon lead into a significant waterfall where an indigenous canoe was full of people but they ran away as fast as they could upriver. Briefly after another canoe full of indigenous people, but this time, apparently done with industrial tools. Down below another

²⁶ “Na realidade o Tapajós tem nascimento muito mais acima, a princípio nas vertentes da Serra do Paraguai ao lado do norte: porem cortando por partes inacessíveis e incapazes de navegar, chega ao sitio em que se deixa ver, mas na realidade vem de mais longe; este sitio pois a que chamamos cabeceiras se engrossa com a agua do rio Arinos, a que algum viajero atribui a maior copia das aguas do Tapajós, e não duvidamos”

²⁷ “Sendo porém preciso a João de Sousa descer pelo rio Arinos, e não podendo voltar contra a corrente depois de varias aventuras e sucessos veio dar nas cabeceiras do Tapajós, rio tão caudaloso que conservando por muitas léguas da sua longitude a largura de quarto e de cinvo leguas, parece aspirar a imitar o Amazonas, bastando para esta copia d’aguas, além das próprias, o rio das Tres Barras, que por três fozes descarrega todo o peso das correntes em o Tapajós”

waterfall in front of an island in the middle of the river (Fonseca, 1866: 370)²⁸

However, probably owing to the lack of erudite help the names are lost in the richness of the adventure's details. One of the most influential *sertanistas* of his time, Azevedo, constantly compares, by memory, the rivers he had passed with the routes from São Paulo to Mato Grosso²⁹. The monções of 1745 led by the Mestre de Campos Antonio de Almeyda Falcão and his sons Iozé de Almeida and Paschoal Falcão were important for the discovery of the Arinos Mines. Even without saying it directly, we may imagine that perhaps Azevedo was inspired by the expedition taken by his compatriot in 1742. The difference, however, strangely, is that, despite the knowledge acquired and considering he was travelling during the Amazonic winter, when rivers are full of water and good to navigate, he took two more months to finish it. He traversed down the Tapajós and then continued down the Amazon river until reaching Belém.

Azevedo left the *Jauru* river, in Mato Grosso, at the beginning of August 1746, travelling down the Paraguai headwaters to the *Sumidouro* river, an affluent of the Arinos, by the channel of the Sepotuba³⁰ and arrived at the Jesuit Mission of São José dos Maitapus on February 14th, next year. It is possible that the most representative document of this attempt was produced in 1743 by the name *Projeto de Abertura do caminho de Terra ou Varadouro tirado desde o rio Jauru até o Guaporé na Capitania de Cuiabá* and written by the trader Luis Roiz Vilares. This piece of writing describes

²⁸ “No dia 7 navegou por entre morrarias, e logo chegou a hua caxoeira de baixos e correntesas, com 2 boas leguas de comprida, aonde topou hua canoa carregada de gentio, que se poz em fuga por hum ribeirão acima. Abaixo encontrou outra canoa rodada tambem de gentio, mas que mostrava ser feita com ferramenta nossa, e mais abaixo uma caxoeira, defronte da qual estava um morro em meio do rio”

²⁹ “The crews (of the monsoon) were enlisted voluntarily and otherwise from Paulistas, accustomed to navigating the Tieté and other rivers. After a few voyages, many of them became exceedingly skillful in shooting the rapids and negotiating the intricate channels of the river route to Cuiabá” (Boxer, 1962: 261). As notícias desta facilidade única de minerar, levadas ao povoado, agitaram a população, e levemente se lançou a terrível jornada que começava no Tietê próximo do Itú, prosseguia pelo Paraná até junto das Sete Quedas, varava para as águas do Mboteteú até sua barra no Paraguai e subindo por este procurava o São Lourenço e o Cuiabá (Capistrano de Abreu, 1907: 141).

³⁰ Also known as *Eipotuba*.

how it was possible to reach the Amazon river by following the current (Presotti, 2008: 102).

After passing *muita rancharia de gentio* in the Bakairi river and going over difficult currents in the waterfalls of the Juruena he describes:

In January he? first failed to open a difficult varadouro among the rockstones with ups and downs he compares with the Tietê Avanhadava. In that place, heathens gave great assistance on fishing and taking rocks to produce axes. On the second the canoes pass and on the third canoes were fully loaded. Navigation proceeded dangerously having to cross six waterfalls, two of them extremely violent, until reaching a plateau he identifies with the Tietê Itapura. On the fourth day he started to open a longer varadouro and on the two next seeing the work concluded passed the canoes and stayed on the lower part of the above mentioned plateau. From the seven to the sixteenth they stopped because the whole crew was ill and from the seventeenth to the twenty-fifth, of the same month, navigation was hardwork and risky because of the many waterfalls, strong currents and grounds the river offered. The expedition had to unpack the canoes at least seven times to cross fourteen waterfalls. Four times they have been varadas and this was not possible to do more frequently because of the river obstruction by rocks³¹

³¹ “No dia 1º de janeiro falhou para abrir varadouro muito custoso, por entre rochedos, com subidas e descidas, o qual compara com a Avanhadava do Tietê. Naquele lugar faz o gentio grande assistencia a pescar e tirar pedras para os seus machados que os tem excelentes. No dia 2 passou as canoas, e no dia 3 carregou-as e seguiu viagem em navegação perigosa e embaraçada, com seis caxoeiras, e duas destas muito violentas, ficando por cima de um salto, que compara com o de Itapura no Tietê. No dia 4 começou a abrir varadouro, o que lhe custou acertar, e teria mil braças de comprido. No dia 5 e 6 concluiu esse trabalho, passou as canoas e ficou pela parte debaixo do dito salto. Desde 7 até 16 esteve falhado por causa da muita enfermidade em toda a comitiva. Partiu no dia 17, e desde este dia até 25 do mesmo mes foi a navegação muito trabalhosa e arriscada, por causa das muitas e perigosas caxoeiras e saltos, correntes e paus atravessados, estreitando ali o rio com as morrarias e penhascos que o bordam. As caxoeiras que passou foram quatorze, e neste numero tres altos, descarregou-se sete vezes as canoas e quatro vezes foram

Believing that Souza Azevedo made his way down the Tres Barras coming from Mato Grosso is, however, to realize that according to cartographical knowledge at the time, he did not discover the Tapajos headwaters, but instead, another *affluent* which connected Mato Grosso with the Tapajós. This is well illustrated by the map produced by Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville in 1748³², where the sources of the Paraguai river are drawn in close proximity to the Tapajós but both of them only as a line without references. The map also shows that the cartographic knowledge of the Madeira river was far more advanced than that present in the one from the Tapajós.

The Military use of the Tapajós

José Gonçalves da Fonseca was an engineer and secretary of Grao Pará and Maranhão working in Brazil at the first half of the 18th century. According to Major Sebastião Furtado, D. João V (1706-1750) was the man who incentivised the production of maps, not only by creating a expressive map collection in 1722, but also for his educational decree of ten years later which helped to rehabilitate the engineering profession, in particular the military engineers, increasing the appreciation of topographic cartography and transforming cosmographers into engineers that no longer produced travel itineraries but diaries (Furtado, 1963: 224)³³. Even so,

varadas, não o podendo fazer mais vezes pelos rochedos que emparedam o rio o não permitirem, de sorte que se abalançou a alguns canais por não poder levar as embarcações por terra. No referido dia 25 passou a barra de um ribeirão que teria 4 braças, e logo abaixo outro mais pequeno, tornando desde aquele lugar a ser largo o leito do rio como era antes de entrar nos sobreditos saltos e cachoeiras". In: "Notícia da viagem de João de Sousa Azevedo" In: Dr. João Severiano da Fonseca. Viagem ao Redor do Brasil 1875-1878. p. 70-71. Colonel Fonseca participated as a doctor in the two demarcation commissions of the Brazilian-Bolivian border which descended the Guaporé-Mamoré-Madeira at the years of 1872 and 1875 reaching almost at the Verde and Beni river.

³² http://objdigital.bn.br/objdigital2/acervo_digital/div_cartografia/cart523218/cart523218.html

³³ "Não só Roteiros mas Diários"

demarcating also meant establishing limits between territories on the basis of external demands fuelled by political interests.

In a recent book, Carlos Gomes de Castro analyses the foundation and functioning of the Comissão Brasileira Demarcadora de Limites (1928) mainly through Brás de Aguiar biography, briefly discussing some of the factors taken into account when doing this kind of work. One of the central concerns beforehand was to determine the time of the year the expedition was going to take place. He revealed that one of the biggest difficulties in analyzing the documentation was to define, in sight of two rivers apparently with the same characteristics, which one of them produced the principal river together with its principal headwater

However, this kind of knowledge is not always present, making things even more complicated. River courses are mainly unknown and so one stays vulnerable to rolling stones or channel slopes which can interrupt the placid route and put in a bad situation the transport of one's food and equipment (Castro, 2014: 72)³⁴

Not only were medieval instruments for the measurement of longitude and latitude used together with nautical instruments such as the astrolabe and quadrant, but *borrões* and *cadernetas* were carried by them including different mathematical instruments, pencil, rules and other measuring devices (Bueno, 2011: 104).

We shall not forget we are talking about military recognition of the territory and the clear advantages of examining the geography from on high. The result of this change of perspective is an integrated whole in which all points of view were visible. It was not until the advent of real time information that aerial recognition was the most effective means of waging war especially when one could not be seen from above (Virilio, [1984] 1993: 23-24). Indigenous knowledge of the terrain, however, apparently did not work on this basis. Jaime Cortesão reminds us Bruno Adler's work and refers to traditional modes of way-finding by the expression *telescopic vision*, comprising a

³⁴ “No entanto, nem sempre esse conhecimento está presente, o que torna tudo mais complicado. Desconhecem-se os cursos dos rios e, conseqüentemente, fica-se sempre a mercê de rápidos pedregosos ou quedas d'água de maior declividade, que podem vir a interromper a tranquilidade do percurso e dificultar sobremaneira o transporte de víveres e dos equipamentos”

great visual memory with an outstanding sense of orientation in space (Cortese, 1947: 1329). He seems to have had in mind the old Suiá headman who in one of Von den Steinen's visits, drew a map in the sand and quoted nine tribes who supposedly still lived in the Xingu headwaters (Thieme, 1993: 54). Taking into account that his book is in Russian, Hutorowicz's synopsis offers us a good image of what Adler calls "Maps of the Indians of South America" when he writes that:

In the basin of the great Xingu tributary of the Amazon, the natives show rivers by straight lines, and lines across them mean waterfalls or swift currents. It is important to indicate them, because they are obstacles to navigation (Hutorowicz, 1911: 673).

Another example of interpreters drawing maps for the travelers is the case reported by Robert H. Schomburgk who copied traces of an Essequibo river map made by an Amerindian elder on the ground and sent it back to the Royal Geographical Society in London (Burnett, 2002: 31). Indians knew the exact places of the village locations, the ancient routes, the name of rivers and small streams and the history of occupation of each of these places. Indigenous knowledge goes as far as to recount familiar trips and political encounters between villages or abandoned gardens used by their predecessors. Not only that, but some of the Xingu Indians themselves, have recently showed the historical mechanisms of villages' spatial distribution; each village was composed and recomposed in the encounters between different groups travelling during different periods (Programa, 2007). The Indians had an important role in scientific expeditions not only in showing the way, paddling, carrying cargo or taking them up the rapids, but also in supplying food. Expeditions had to be provisioned and regularly stopped in indigenous settlements to replenish their stock of provisions. This short period of rest waiting for food to be prepared by the natives, allowed travelers to collect botanical specimens, observe local activities or take astronomical positions.

But as an experienced man, Gonçalves da Fonseca didn't explain who helped him to draw his map. During his life he had worked in several places ranging from Pará and Mato Grosso to the states of Amazonas and Pernambuco. He represented one of the first generation of military engineers that, together with the mathematical priests, replaced the cosmographers, forging longitude observations in order to criss-cross the region. It would probably have diminished his professional status to say he

was helped by local inhabitants to find his way. The Fonseca expedition was commanded by *sargento mór* Luiz Fagundes Machado and had as its navigator Antonio Nunes de Souza. The circumnavigation took from July 14th 1749 to middle of April next year and planned to go by the Amazon passing the mouth of the Madeira and then, going up the Madeira until the Mato Grosso *arraiaes*. In his map, a chain of high mountains is drawn at the level of the Tapajos headwaters bigger than the ones that separated the Paraguai from the Tapajos side. The Parecis fields, surrounded by mountains, ranged from the Xingu headwaters to the Tapajos. We can also see, that some indigenous groups are already depicted in this map, like the *Mura*, *Aripuanã*, *Kayapó*, *Chiriguano*s³⁵.

The map drawn by Fonseca maintains that the knowledge people had, at the time, about the headwaters of the Tapajós and Paraguai rivers was that both of them originated in the same range of mountains but ran opposite sides.³⁶ Descriptions on

³⁵ FONSECA, Jose Gonçalves da. Carta hidrográfica: Em que se descreve as origens de vários E grandes Rio s da América Meridional Portuguesa; muito especialmente O nascimento do Rio Madeira, E rumos da sua direção, com os rios que lhe são colaterais, até entrar no famoso Rio das Amazonas; observado, tudo exatamente por ordem de S. mag. Fidelissima no ano de 1750 E da mesma sorte se faz publica a verdadeira orgem do Rio Paraguay incógnita a toda geografia antiga, E moderna; descrevendo-se a confluência de aguas, que formam o tronco principal deste grande Rio; que, com os maes faraó delineados no Mato-Grosso. [S.l.: [s.n.], 1750. 1 mapa: desenho à nanquim, color, papel de fibra ; 1218 x 1430 cm Escala: 1:2924210 (2°N-29° 38'S/ 302°.). Mapoteca da Biblioteca da Marinha, Rio de Janeiro. Derrota desta cidade de Santa Maria de Belém do Grão Pará para as Minas de Mato Grosso, Arraial de S. Francisco Xavier, de que foi Cabo o sargento-mor Luiz Fagundes Machado, feita por mim António Nunes de Sousa Piloto Mestre aprovado, feita em 14 de Julho RIHGB de 1749 - LXVIII, 1 Parte (1906) de 1749 . This map was produced by Galluzi with information given by the Bishop Fr. Miguel de Bulhoes e Sousa.

³⁶ When steamer *Explorer* captain Sprogell answers Ned Livingston's question regarding how far up can they ascend in the Tapajós E. Ellis writes:

“The Rio de la Plata takes its rise in the same place; you can throw a stone from one to the other when there is a large rise of water; but one goes north and the other south, and they reach the Atlantic at points on the coast more than three thousand miles apart”! “We have the same curious fact in our country, said Ned, the Columbia and the Missouri have their sources in the Rocky Mountains, almost side by side; one winds along over prairie,

the origin of the Tapajós go together with the description of many other rivers, which supposedly were its sources. Name changing is also an index of time passing as some sort of continuity in a straight line between the already-discovered past and the yet-to-be-explored future. He states:

Oposite the Cuiabá and Paraguai are the headwaters of the Arinos, Preto and Sumidouro which together with the Juina and Juruena rivers, form the Tapajós main trunk flowing in the direction of the Amazon. It is possible to admit, then, that is very short distance between the Cuiabá and the Arinos and, possessing only a canoe it is possible to navigagte up from the Amazon river mouth moving to the Tapajós until the Arinos and then transpose the small distance separating the Cuiabá river ending up in the mouth of the great Paraguaiian Silver River (Fonseca, 1866: 363)³⁷

Crossing the mountains required passing through many difficult and hostile surroundings, like the *Bakairi* Indians who somehow maintained commercial relations with the *corso* Indians of the Paraná Basin, especially the *Araripoçonez*, *Acopocones*, *Tambeguiz*, *Itapores* and *Pupuz*. It is possible that the Bakairi worked as slaves on the mines of the Guaporé valley under the name of *Waccayris*, but were originally from the Paranatinga where they were first described by Antonio Pires de Campos as peaceful, during the first decades of the 18th century (Barros, 2001: 314). Menendez mentions

through forest and mountain gorges, until it reaches the Gulf of Mexico; while the other pours its current into the Pacific, the outlets being more than four thousand miles apart” (Ellis, 1886: 204-5)

³⁷ “Contravertentes do Cuiabá e Paraguai tem origem os rios Arinos, Preto e Sumidouro, que juntos com o rio Juina e Juruena, todos formam o tronco do Tapajoz, que tambem desagua no Amazonas em altura de 3 grãos e 40 minutos ao sul da equinoctial; advertindo que entre as fontes do rio Cuyabá e Arinos medêa sómente tres léguas de chapada, de sorte que, subindo uma canoa desde a foz do Amazonas no mar do norte, e navegando o Tapajoz até as cabeceiras dos Arinos, varando as referidas tres leguas, e caindo no rio Cuyabá, pode rodar até o Rio da Prata e sair pela sua exstensa embocadura no mar do Paraguai”

that the Bakairi could be the *Maguary* (1992: 284) and Martius believed they were the same as the *Pacauáras* (1867:385).

According to Steinen (1892) one never says *pakairi* or *wakairi*, but the word *makairi* was heard spoken by a different group (60). In one Bakairi myth, the quarrel between Keri and Kame brothers resulted in the creation of different tribes such as the Apiaká, Pareci and Guaná and also the creation of the Beija-Flor hill. The Beija-Flor river is an affluent of the Paranatinga just above the Verde. In this sense it is interesting to think of the Bakairi as the progenitors of the intertribal trading now present in the Xingu area such as practices by the Trumai, Kamayurá (moitará) and Kuikuro (Schaden, 1965: 85).

Manoel Rodrigues Torres' report from 1738 quoted by Pina de Barros mentions the enslavement of the Pareci, Kabixi and Mambaré (Mambariara?) to help extract gold from the headwaters of the Sepotuba, Jauru, Sararé and Galera rivers on the Parecis Plateau (Price, 1983:131)³⁸. These Indians were considered to be strategic; at the same time they visited Cuyabá, they were also "from the plateau" and could guide possible adventures to penetrate the Amazon rainforest. Some believed the Bakairi represented an ethnographic curiosity for:

It conserved two faces because they appear domesticated in the Tapajós but completely savages in the Xingu (Capistrano de Abreu, 1976: 156)³⁹

In his "Relação das povoações do Cuyabá and Mato Grosso", Barbosa de Sá mentions that the route down the Guaporé was first taken as an economic subterfuge and had as its point of departure the *Arraial de São Francisco Xavier*. It was organized by the priest of the locality, Manoel da Silva Moura, but effectively went through the trader Manoel Féix de Lima, together with three more men: Joaquim Ferreira, Vicente de Assumpção and Manoel de Freitas Machado, during the year of 1742. After the critical years of bexigas epidemics of 1621 and 1663 described by Berredo from the

³⁸ This document could be viewed online at: <http://www.cmd.unb.br/biblioteca.html>. Steinen believed all these groups spoke a similar language (1894: 425)

³⁹ "Conservam dupla face porque se apresentam já domesticados no Tapajós, ainda perfeitamente selvagens no Xingu"

year 1719, Amazonian demography, especially during the colonial period, started to change fast with the reduction in the number of independent native groups and depopulation of large stretches of land in the lower rivers (Roller, 2014: 96). On the other hand, massive displacement of Indians from inland to the urban centers constantly changed data on indigenous population formation, though the total number of Indians in some population centres, such as Pará, for example, remained stable. Nonetheless, it is important to be aware of the different demographic dynamics existent in each region (Mello, 2015: 239) General Population statistics were poor because they worked on the basis of general categories such as slaves, free or Indians, who did not give much information regarding where they came from. There were also imprecise definitions of these categories in law.

Before Félix de Lima's trips, in 1724, Fr. Bartolomeu do Pilar had already contributed to the dissemination of a smallpox epidemic coming from Maranhão. In 1740, the same epidemic returned, this time reaching all the way to the inlands of the Rio Negro. In August 1743 smallpox and its debilitating secondary infections victimized Belém. Contagious *bexigas* began the devastation of the area and in 1749 a lethal epidemic of measles reached Belém and dominated the Negro, Solimões and Madeira affluents (Alden, 1983: 127). From the year 1750 to 1758, already under Pombal's administration, many different contagious diseases continued to kill. Between 1763 and 1772 under Fernando da Costa Ataíde Teive the State of Pará was the target of more *bexigas* and measles and until the João Pereira Caldas administration, and epidemics struck two more times in Belém in the year of 1776 (Ferreira, 1885: 29-30). The main sufferers were the so-called *tapuias* who, officially, didn't belong to the kingdom as citizens, but provided its subsistence, as we can read in the anonymous document at the time:

Malignity is now reduced because there are no more Indians to host the desase. And from not being there, at Marajó, we feel the lack of meat and fresh fish for our sustenance (ANONIMO, 1749)⁴⁰

⁴⁰ "Acha-se mais diminuida a malignidade porque já não há *tapuias* em que o mal emopregue seus golpes; e por esta causa, varias vezes se sente a carencia de carne, e *tainhas*, por não haver quem conduza semelhante sustento do Marajó"

Sick indigenous people from the lower rivers, especially the Mawé at the mouth of the Madeira, searching for refuge, fled into the wilderness generating demographic decline in the Jesuit missions.⁴¹ They passed through a region dominated by the Mura where there were about 4000 of them in the mission of S. Miguel, situated on the banks of the *Baures* river 20 miles up from its mouth (Silva Coutinho, 1862: 64). They then got to two small jesuit missions, the *Aldea do Jacaré* and the *Aldea dos Baquazis* near the confluence with the Amazonas (Southey, 1819: 340). According to some authors, they:

They travelled in a canoe without any information on geography or about the river conditions. They encountered indians and passed waterfalls. They saw what no Catholic people have ever seen. And finally arrived at the city of Belém of the (Great) Pará with no guide other than the river currents. They were arrested and sent to the Royal Court where they spoke about all the fantastic things they have gone through, and were finally set free (Barbosa de Sá, 1901 [1775]: 42)⁴²

Depopulation made cacao canoe expeditions to inland areas more difficult, despite the financial investment of Belém and São Luis commercial houses who were interested in the forest products. The personal contact exploratory-soldiers and missionaries had with the Indians in the 18th century opened up the opportunity for earning money by smuggling native slaves. Because of violence, however, at the first opportunity they ran away again into the woods, leaving no equipment and labor force. There was a necessity to find more Indians to work for the whites and here we

⁴¹ Barbosa Rodrigues believe that Portuguese occupation of the Lower Tapajós generated an epidemic in 1750, which started to completely exterminate the Tapajó Indians already reduced by fighting the Munduruku in previous times. By 1798 they did not exist anymore by this name. (Rodrigues: 130, 1875). Although we don't have written records of the coexistence at the same time between the Munduruku and the Tapajós Indians this could have happened.

⁴² "Rodarão estes em uma canoa sem noticia alguma de navegação nem onde aquele rio ia surgir, tiveram encontros de gentios, passaram caxoeiras, viram o que gentes católicas não tinham ainda visto. Deram consigo na cidade de Belém do (Grão) Pará, sem mais guia que a corrente das águas que os levavam as cegas. Foram na dita cidade presos e remetidos a Corte onde dando noticias da sua viagem e de tudo o que tinham visto e passado foram soltos"

describe three main pacification efforts that took place in the second half of the 18th century.

After the signing of the Madrid Treaty with the Spanish colonies, cartographic works proliferated, mainly because of the fourth Demarcation Commissions led by Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado and Pereira Caldas. The General-Captain of Pará, João Pereira Caldas was responsible for demarcating the region until the Rio Branco river. The military academy of Rio de Janeiro saw a profusion of new scientific works produced.⁴³ Brazilian soldiers went into the Amazon forest leaving their families at home. Mix blood marriages started to happen between Indians and military. Marriages were sometimes a white strategy to pacify whole groups of Indians using them as labor force. In a letter sent by Pombal, he talks about an inland communication route, already in use at the beginning of the century, between Vila Bela in the Mato Grosso and the Abacaxis Mission at the Lower Madeira. In 1755, the *Capitania de São José do Rio Negro* was created, become separate administratively from the Grão-Pará⁴⁴. In the year 1758 most of the places in Pará received the 'village' status while Pombal substituted the Regimento das Missões, creating the Diretório dos Índios on the same basis (Holanda, 1970: 295)

Travelling in 1763 from Boim to Pinhel, the fourth bishop of Gram-Pará, S. José de Queiroz noticed that the waterfalls were an impediment to going further up river. Pinhel was the last safe place in the Tapajós on the way to the mines, because the Maué had blocked the access to the upper parts of the Tapajós river. For this reason, the village was guarded by soldiers and guards to protect against attacks.

Because after escaping to the woods three of them had already returned to the village and we believe they will extend the regret to the others. Their chief the cause of it all when he forged a new

⁴³ The Madrid Treaty was nullified by the El Pardo Treaty in 1761

⁴⁴ In this same year, Pombal also created the Companhia Geral de Comércio do Maranhão e Grão Pará, accompanied by the June 6th and 7th laws which set Indians free and withdrew the temporary administration of the Indians by the missionaries (Farage: 36, 1991).

route in the woods to run away from dying (São José, 1847: 186-7).⁴⁵

Maué Pacification (1770)

In his “History of Óbidos”, Reis (1979) calls attention to the fact that since 1753, the Pauxis fortress received *descimentos* (slave raids) coming from distant places such as the Rio Negro and the Mundurucânia:

Hundreds of Mawé also known by their ability to cultivate the guaraná and famous by their treaties with the white people are now occupying the villages of Pauxia and Aldeinha (Reis, 1979: 28)⁴⁶

We have registers that in 1766, *descimentos* of Mawé Indians were occurring in Óbidos⁴⁷. Some years earlier, however, in 1762, the Pinhel village Director, Jeronimo de Carvalho, was already facing problems with the Mawé headman Marcelo de Afaia who, with the collaboration of native officials and public opinion, managed to escape with forty people from the village into the forest. Alfaia took care of his people and, because the task seemed dangerous, planned to send the women, the elderly and the

⁴⁵ “Dos que fugiram para o mato se recolheram três a povoação enfadados de inclemências; também se presume que os outros arrependidos já mandaram diante destes para ver como eram recebidos; porem dizem que seu principal for a quem os metera nisso, mandando antes fazer estrada pelo mato, e que uma das causas que alegava era porque morriam alguns de sua nação, e da outra que viviam todos na vila”. Spix and Martius also describe the difficulty of crossing the Maranhão Waterfall up the Mawé village of Itaituba. Martius also mentions seeing Mawé Indians in the Irariá river eastern affluent of the Madeira river (Martius, 1867: 401).

⁴⁶ Centenas de Magues, conhecidos por suas habilidades na cultura do guaraná, famosos pela desenvoltura nos contatos que mantinham com os colonos, desenvolturas que lhes tinham valido uma proibição para comerciar com brancos, vieram, por esse meio, engrossar os dois povoados de Pauxia and Aldeinha

⁴⁷ 1081 – Óbidos – 06/ago./1766 – Informando Descimento de Almas da Nação Mague (Castro, 2006: 25).

children back to the village before the men. This means that independent of age or sex, all the Mawé individuals knew the way back to their villages. Maybe because of the fear of revealing the places where they lived, the Mawé women were prohibited, at a certain time of their lives by the group, of speaking Portuguese (Pereira, 2003: 43).

This was the reason why some missionaries required Indians to settle a great distance from their homelands, hoping that perhaps, with the distance, they would forget the how to return home. But that was certainly not the case for the Maué, who Bishop João de Queiroz reported on various occasions to come down to the white settlements only to return again, after a while, to the woods. They wanted, according to him, to be with their Maué relatives. During the colonial period, it is possible to see that the Portuguese settlements were only a place to supply the Indians with material instruments and that they did not wish to stay there for a long period of time. It seemed that, for the Indians, it did not matter where the tools were coming from. At the end of the 18th century the network of interethnic exchange was so big that the limits were extended from the Guianas to the Madeira with the Negro river as an intermediary point which had first been articulated by the Manaus Indians (Guzmán, 2006: 146).

In 1769, it emerged that several white settlers from the Madeira area had been murdered in indigenous territories, leading the government to prohibit all colonial trade with the Mawé (Menendez, 1981-2). In two letters written by the Pinhel village Director Belchior Henrique Weinholtz to the Governor Francisco da Costa Ataíde Teive, in April 1770, he mentioned the figure of the Mawé Sebastião Pinto, and Marcelo de Alfaia - two rebellious indigenous headmen who divided their time between the colonial village of Pinhel, on the Tapajós River, and the uncolonized forests of the Amazonian inlands. At the end of the century Mawé were also deserting the village of Santarém (Sommer, 2000: 176). Desertions are here understood as a strategic political tool of this group living in the Tapajós, which along with their alliances with other indigenous groups in the same area, enabled them to use the Portuguese for their own purposes.

All individuals, families or even the whole nation of Indians who systematically abandoned the villages and white settlements immediately affected the labor force contingency and were classified by local authorities as *ausentes* (Sampaio, 2000: 327). The activity of attracting new people was, however, a dangerous game, because the village director could not know for sure which type of relation the inconstant headmen had with their compatriots. This was explicit in the case exemplified by Fernando da Costa de Ataíde Teive when mentioning that the former Pinhel village

Director João Portes Bernardino Monteiro was violently killed after attracting *Xaldató* and *Nunceseré*; two Maué chiefs to the village the night before (Pereira, 1942: 46-7). The just war or *redução a necessidade*; imposed by Ataíde Teive against the Maué, was an effective way of bringing legitimate slaves to the villages. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (1986: 153) summarizes another common practice for acquiring legitimate slaves during the sixties *resgates* (rescues) that involved buying slaves from some other group of Indians who had been taken captive. This was legally controversial, however, because the concept of Indian liberty was not clear at the time.

The river could be split in two, framing some sort of ethnic division of the landscape, with the village of Pinhel as the point of reference. In 1768, the Brazilian priest Monteiro de Noronha mentioned the *Tapacorá*, *Carary*, *Mawé*, *Jacarétapiya*, *Sapopê*, *Yauain*, *Uarupá*, *Suarirana*, *Piriquita*, *Uarapanga* nations as inhabiting the upper Tapajós. He divided the ethnic landscape of the river in two; with the village of Pinhel (ancient São José dos Maitapus) as the point of reference:

The Indians who inhabit these villages and in all the others down the Tapajós are called Canicaruz, in opposition to those living upriver called Yapyruâra, the same as people from the backlands or people from above (Noronha, 1862[1768]: 23)⁴⁸

Although Noronha had described the *Maturucú* Indians living in the *Urariá* canal, we can hardly know if they correspond to the modern Munduruku. The Franciscans believed that Noronha didn't describe the Munduruku in the Tapajós because this group was still migrating from the Bolivia-Mato Grosso region to the east (Niggemeyer, 1923). Our present attempt to reconstruct the history of the rio Negro Province relies particularly on the *vigário-geral* José Monteiro de Noronha (1768), the naturalist Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira (1784-86) and the *ouvidor-geral* Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio (1775). Before governing the Rio *Negro*, during the years of 1774-5, Ribeiro de Sampaio went up the Amazon river from the Silves Lake. He

⁴⁸ “Os índios que habitam nestas vilas e em todas as mais povoações que ficam do Tapajóz. para baixo, se chaman vulgarmente entre elles – Canicaruz -; em distinção, dos que assistem nas povoações de cima, aos quais apelidam por Yapyruâra; e vale o mesmo que - gente do sertão, ou parte superior do rio”

later related that near the village of Serpa, in the *Urariá* canal lived the Maué Indians, drained by the Abacaxis, Canumá and Maué rivers:

We had commerce with the self-confident Mawé but now it is prohibited because of the deaths they have perpetuated showing us the uselessness of their friendship. The prohibition was accomplished in the year of 1769 by the Great Governor and General Captain Fernando da Costa Ataide Teive in a letter send to all the directors in Pará and Rio Negro. Besides that, the letter also deals with interesting matters in benefit of the Indians and its villages (Ribeiro de Sampaio, 1825: 6)⁴⁹

Although Stradelli (1929) mentions that the Nhengatú word *Canicaruz* meant the traitor or the one who passed to the enemy's side referring to the Manao Indians who collaborated with the Portuguese in the Negro river (see also Sampaio, 1998), the division between them and *Yapyruára* was only possible because the latter were groups from beyond, people from the woods. Together with the naturalist Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, Ribeiro de Sampaio had a critical role in popularizing the Mura narratives. The indigenous group called Mura are fundamental to any reader wanting to understand some sort of Amazonian indigenous geopolitics and territorial movement. The Mura advance through, virtually, all parts of Amazonia from the lower Tapajós to the Solimões. This, instead, leads us to believe that the name of the Mura was not an all-encompassing name, but could hide other ethnic groups (Amoroso, 1998: 255).

Above the waterfalls of the lower Tapajós:

⁴⁹ “Os Mawés são valorosos, com eles tínhamos comércio o qual se acha proibido, depois que a falta de boa fé, que se experimentou nestes índios, e por causa das mortes, que fizeram em alguns cabos do mesmo comércio, mostrou, quão pouco útil para nós era a sua amizade. Essa proibição foi feita no ano de 1769 pelo Ilustríssimo e Excelentíssimo Governador e Capitão geral deste Estado Fernando da Costa Ataide Teive, em uma carta instrutiva, que circularmente enviou a todos os diretores das duas capitanias do Pará, e Rio Negro: carta que compreende além da sobredita proibição, outros muito pontos interessantes em beneficio dos índios das duas capitanias, e do aumento das suas respectivas povoações”

All the principal southern tributaries of the Amazon are cut in their mid or upper reaches by the line of cataracts and falls that mark the descent from the central highlands into the Amazon basin (Davidson, 1970: xx).

This line of cataracts could have also influenced migration that does not follow the main river itself, but rather, some of their bigger affluents. Besides that, it is interesting to notice that the Portuguese pacification came from the Solimões and Negro River before happening in the Tapajós.

Francisco da Costa Ataíde Teive began his mandate when Bishop Queiroz was finishing his. We have the impression that throughout his time at the coalface of Pará decision-making he had to deal with the ‘problem’ of the Mawé. As we saw from the visits of the Ouvidor Sampaio, throughout this decade, the Mawé seem to appear either in the Madeira and in the Tapajós. This, in turn lead us to speculate that there was a route or a *varadouro* followed by the Mawé connecting both rivers. We are going to see in the next chapter that some travelers became aware of this route.

At the same time, in Trocano, São José described the war between the *Mura* and the *Ariquena*. At the end of the decade we also read that the Mato Grosso captaincy was worried about the aggressiveness of the *Mura* while inhabiting the banks of the lower Madeira:

And even if terror and panic could imaginatively take hold of the navigators, the increase in the number of trips by indigenous people to the backlands shows evidence that this nation is not so powerful. In that matter, if we manage to extend our villages in the direction of that river margin it will be a big step to annihilate them or at least discover some way of controlling them⁵⁰

⁵⁰ “E ainda que os terrores pânico de que se acham possuídos os navegantes, façam subir o número do gentio a uma soma imensa; contudo os vestígios que se encontraram na viagem não poderão persuadir-me de que aquela nação pudesse ser tão numerosa como supõe o mesmo vulgo: de sorte que estendendo os nossos estabelecimentos pelas margens daquele rio, ão acho dificultoso extingui-la ou poder descobrir com o tempo, ainda alguns meios de domá-la”. AHU_CU_BRASIL-MATO

In 1771, at the culmination of his mandate, the governor of the Mato Grosso province still refers to their aggressiveness in the Madeira: “assim como os Mura nunca há de haver comércio livre nesta Capitania, nem segurança nos colonos dispersos”⁵¹. The finding of gold at the *Guarujús* in the principle of the 1770, on the Guaporé river, however, rapidly changed the plans of the authorities. In a letter written at the very end of this same year by general captain of the capitania do Mato Grosso Luis Pinto de Sousa Coutinho to F. Xavier de Mendonça Furtado says that it was actually possible to communicate between the prison of Bragança and the city of Vila Bella and Cuiabá in the Mato Grosso region by taking the S. Simão and the Cautário river, which provided easy communication with the Guaporé in all seasons:

A great part of the heathen are very sweet and agree on the way they are treated. They receive us, and all the food supply on their villages, with great joy whereas in the future I hope, not only to improve this relation but also to build more indigenous establishments⁵²

Bishop São José de Queiroz is the person who gives us the most precise data in relation to the locality of the indigenous groups during the years 1762-3:

Where the two rivers meet we find the limits of the Arinos nation to the South and the Uarupá to the North. Numerous as the salsa and the clove, opposite to the Arinos various nations inhabit from

GROSSO. 1769, Janeiro, 20, Vila Bela. Ofício do governador e capitão general da capitania de Mato Grosso Luis Pinto de Sousa Coutinho.

⁵¹ AHU_CU_BRASIL-MATO GROSSO. 1771. Dezembro, 6, Vila Bela.

⁵² “Porque a maior parte [do gentio] se encontra mui dócil, e correspondendo ao bom tratamento que recebe dos nossos, fornecendo-a voluntariamente de todo o mantimento que caresseram e recebendo-a nas suas povoações com grande alegria; de sorte que para o ano future espero, não somente de aperfeiçoar esta obra, mais de fazer vários estabelecimentos dos mesmos índios”. AHU_CU_BRASIL-Mato GROSSO. 1770, Novembro, 5, Forte de Bragança.

East to West, such as: Apaunuariás, Marixitás, Apicuricús, Muricás, Muquiriás. At this same locality begins the waterfall which continues until the land of the Jacareuarás meaning jacaré eaters. They live a little ahead the Tapacoará-mirim⁵³

The waterfalls are not high but to the contrary, are close to one of another, however violent and dangerous. They cross the land of the Urupá where we can also find the Anijuariáz e Apecuariás until the margins of the Cocaís and just after that it is possible to see the Semicuriás nation limited in all its territory by the renowned Periquitos nation. The Periquitos confines west with the Necurias and this, in turn, with the Surinanas, which finally verge with the Motuaris, this last group give the name to the river dividing their territory (São José, 1847: 96-7)⁵⁴

This is because the Madeira-Guaporé-Paraguay river route marked the very line of the San Idelfonso Treaty (1777). Antonio Pires da Silva Pontes Leme and Lacerda e Almeida worked for the Divisions of the Demarcation Commission for the Santo Idelfonso Treaty between Portugal and Spain. This was also the year of the death of the King D. José I and when Marques de Pombal dictatorship ended.

⁵³ “Em a barra dos dois rios tem também seus limites as nações de Arinos do sul e Uarupás do norte. Nas ribeiras opostas a terra de Arinos habitam de leste a oeste por sua ordem varias nações, tais são os Apaunuariás, Marixitás, Apicuricús, Muricás, Muquiriás, sendo tanto o pao cravo e a salsa como o gentio. Na mesma barra principiam as cachoeiras, e continuam até a provincial dos Jacareuarás, que quer dizer comedores de jacarés (...) vivem pouco antes de chegar a barra de Tapacoará-mirim (...)”

⁵⁴ “Estas cachoeiras não são de salto ou catadupa, são todas muito próximas e com breves intervalos: porem algumas não são menos violentas que perigosas. Tornando a margem e rumo de leste e correndo ao longo dela pela provincial dos indios Urupás, se acham as nações dos Anijuariáz e Apecuariás, até a ribeira chamada dos Cocaís; e logo pelas margens de oeste se vê a nação dos Semicuriás, com a qual é confinante por ambas as partes a numerosíssima e celebre nação dos chamados Periquitos (...) Com os Periquitos confinam a oeste os Necurias, e estes são confinantes com os Surinanas, e finalmente estes com os Motuaris, que dão nome ao rio que lhes serve de limite dividindo-os”

If the Maué Indians were already present in the Tapajós in the XVIII century, it is strange not to find their name in Ferreyra's map but, instead, mentioned only in 1762 and 68 by Monteiro de Noronha and São José and even, before, in Fritz's map as the *Mabues* (Menendez, 1981-2: 327). Neither do we find mentioned by Ferreyra, Fritz's variation *Ygaputariyara* (perhaps *yg* + *capuitára*= aguador, DIAS, 1965: 71) as the bigger group living between the upper Tapajós and Tupinambarana river at the beginning of the century.

Noronha classified the people from the Tapajós in two classes: the *Yapyruâra*, people from the upper parts of the river in opposition to the *Canicaruz*, living in the lower river. Other *Yapyruâra* were the *Tapacorá*, *Carary*, *Jacarétapiya*, *Sapopê*, *Yauain*, *Uarupá*, *Suarirana*, *Piriquita*. These were *Uarapunga* nations, almost all of which, ironically, were described in Ferreyra's map. There is a strict relation between the *Canicaruz* and the Indians who were decided to inhabit the misissions. For Araujo e Amazonas,

The so called Canicurús, because of their civilization, are the scapegoat of all the society defects and is used also to designate everything that is hard and difficult. For example, they are called lazy, but however, I can assure they are the more hardworking people of the Province (Araujo e Amazonas, 1852: 153)⁵⁵

In 1781, 530 people lived in Alter do Chão, 1100 in Vila Franca, Boim had 613 inhabitants, Aveiro hosted 270 people and 340 individuals lived in Pinhel (Braun, 1860: 449). At least half of Pinhel's population were recently Indians recently brought from the river above, and from where 186 Indians came in the same year (Coelho, 2005: 360). In the decade of 1760, Indians lived largely in the villages of Monte Alegre and Vila Franca. Pinhel appears in the official records with a total of only 85 Indians in 1761 (Moreira Neto, 1988: 210). The number of people grew to nearly 400 individuals in the village of Pinhel until it experienced massive demographic decline from the

⁵⁵ “Estes chamados outros Canicurús em razão de sua civilização, são em toda a Província a classe sobre a que recai a increpação dos defeitos de toda a sociedade, e ainda a designação para quanto é árduo, e de sua negação. Por exemplo, são increpados de preguiçosos, e, entretanto, onde eles estão, são eles os únicos que trabalham”

seventies reaching a total of less than 250 people in 1778. From this year onwards, Pinhel began to receive many Indians coming from above, culminating in the year 1798 where a total of 450 individuals lived in the village. Pinhel had never been so full of Indians. This is the same year when the supposed Munduruku pacification began. It is not difficult to imagine that many of the recently arrived Pinhel Indians were called Munduruku.

This enterprise was done, in Pinhel, by the *principais* Sebastião Pinto and Hipólito Rodrigues, who, together with the sergeant Simão da Silva, already received domesticated Indians to help in the *descimento* of more labor force. The Indians, of course, soon realized what they were being used for and without abandoning the village altogether took leave for a significant period. It was clear that the *principais* had more power and could mobilize more people than the village director alone (Coelho, 2005: 254). So, at the same time that village Indians were hired to maintain contact with the surrounding forest people, the purpose of this relation was also to bring forest products to commercialization in the villages. *Descimentos* were always agreed with the Principal or to loyal Principal relatives and had the intention of augmenting the population of the villages even if this would entail more expenditure. The white authorities had to establish a very special and particular relationship with the *Principal* leading the *descimento*. Meanwhile, Indians *descidos* could take flight constantly, especially when they started to hear rumors of epidemics or famine. With the hesitant pre-pombal legislation in relation to Indian liberty, different groups of Indians found space to negotiate their own *descimentos*, returning as fast as they could to their own lands when gathering what they wanted from the white man (Chambouleyron and Bombardi, 2011).

White authorities were subject to the *Principal's* own network, groups known by one specific chief that could pave the way for meeting others. This could be useful not only in relation to exchanging goods but also in obtaining information about the surroundings. Friendly or spontaneous encounters between collecting expedition crews and groups of Indians in the forest occasionally led to successful *descimentos*, but only if the *Principal* was willing to engage in new trading relationships. This meant that, as in the case of the village of Souzel, after the arrival of new Indians, the Principal Paulo de Carvalho admitted that there was a history of ethnic strife between two of the newly resettled groups, leading to a large part of them deserting back to the forest (Roller, 2014: 112). It seems that these group encounters in the lower river

villages encouraged the formation of groups based on new modes of belonging. The *Principal* chief also had the power to reorganize the group according to his network of kinsmen (Farage, 1991: 162).

Inspired by the discovery of the *Urucumacuan* mines between the Juruena and the Jamari, the general capitain Luiz de Albuquerque Pereira de Mello e Caceres designated the engineer Ricardo Franco de Almeida e Serra to try to find places hiding gold in the year 1776 and then again in 1779. Looking at his map (Map 2) one can see a group of mountains dividing the Tapajos headwaters with that from the Sararé, Galera, Guaporé, Jauru, Sipotuba, Paraguai and Cuiabá rivers. There were two ways to travel from Mato Grosso to Pará (Belém). One could take the Juruena all the way up and reach Villa Bella. The other way, by the Arinos, and from there to Cuyabá. If we look at the map closer we will see that the “cabeceiras do Tapajós” are in close proximity to the “cabeceiras do Paraguay”, only separated by the Sumidouro and Juruena rivers. The Tapajós river has multiple origins: Juruena, Azevedo, Ouro, Apiaças, Mambariara, Cavaiva, Arinos, Jacuruhina, Pabureuina, Camararé, Juína, Juína-Mirim, Tuneuína, Caraná, Oca and Tres Barras. This last river ends in the middle of the Tapajós on the other side of the Boca do Rio Negro. The Rio Negro River was believed to be closer to the Tapajós than we think it is today⁵⁶. According to Almeida Serra:

Only the Tapajós navigation could, in times of war, surprise the Spanish, because the Juruena is navigable until its origins even if admits only small boats (Almeida Serra, 1779: 13)⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Antonio Pires da Silva Pontes also mentions the existence of an old indigenous village of the *Manequés* tribe, which is today called *Muleques*.

⁵⁷ “Mas como pode ser surpreendida dos espanhóis , nesse caso só a navegação do Tapajos pode fornecê-la em tempos de Guerra, frustrando aqueles embarços: pois o Juruena é navegável até as suas origens ainda que admita somente botes de menor carga”

These names do not appear to us as completely new. As we saw in the first chapter, the *jacaré-uara* Indians are evident also in Ferreyra's map, as a river ending in front of the Coatá waterfall. According to Martius, there were jacaré eaters inhabiting the Abunã river and also the Tapacoara-mirim, on the other side of the *Tapacorá* Indians in the Ferreyra's map. Ferreyras's Sapupês and Surinanas are probably Martius's Sacopés and Suariranas. The Periquitos also appear under the same name. We can find the word *uara* in different indigenous groups described by Martius. And Almeida e Serra continue:

The most difficult thing in navigating the Tapajós is that no one actually knows the interiors. However, what they could not do a hundred years ago now we can using exactly the information they gathered (Almeida e Serra, 1779: 12)⁵⁹

And Baena complements:

The Tapajós is a precipice. in five days of navigation on the upper river one faces many waterfalls very difficult to transpose (Baena, 2004: 378)⁶⁰

The navigability of the recently discovered river was done with *Apiaká* and *Karipuna* labor force. The *Karipuna* was first described by the priest Bartolomeu Rodrigues in 1714. The *Apiaká* became known to the whites specifically at the time diamond mines were discovered during the 18th century on the rich and fertile lands of the north of Mato Grosso (a place of dispute with Pará in the following century) (Barros, 1989: 192). As a further point in the thesis we will look ahead in time to see the importance acquired by the Franciscan Mission in the Cururu river on the *Apiaká*

⁵⁹ "A maior dificuldade desta navegação do Tapajós é não se conhecerem presentemente aqueles vastos sertões; porem o que se pode fazer por aqueles sertanistas há 100 anos, não é impossível que ainda hoje se faça, havendo as noticias que eles deixaram, e que eles então não tinham"

⁶⁰ "É penhasco o Tapajós. Cinco dias de navegação para cima das suas faces o estorva grande número de catadupas e muito difíceis de montar"

exchange with the savannah Munduruku. But at the beginning of the colonization, the Apiaká knowledge was instrumental to facilitate passing through the so called *funis*, which is:

A difficult phenomenon to explain, having to do with the velocity of the current and the disposition of the rocks. They are formed along the main waterfalls sucking people down to the bottom. “Funis” appear and disappear in different places and explode with great noise, from time to time throwing a great quantity of substance captured to the air (Franco, 1998: 26)⁶¹

According to Guimarães (1844) the Apiaká knew the river obstacles very well, mainly its upper parts where they waged war against three principal enemies: the *Tapanhona*, the *Tapanhoanauhúm* and the *Timaóana*. They gathered stones used to assemble their axes in the Itamiary river, also known by the whites as the Peixe river. What separated the Apiaká from the different *Tapayuna* groups was a great waterfall:

The Apiaká spend eight days’ journey to cross the plateau forming the waterfall. The falling water makes such a noise that during the eight days’ trip through the woods, one can hear the water until finally arriving in the fields only to find a Tapanhóna village resting at the river margins. From this place, the Apiaká have marched going to the margins of the Itamiary territory of the Tapanhonauhúm e Timaoanas nations (309-10)⁶²

⁶¹ “São verdadeiros sorvedouros que se formam em determinadas cachoeiras, logo abaixo das quedas. Porém é um fenômeno difícil de explicar-te mas que, tem a ver com a velocidade da correnteza e a disposição das rochas. Os ‘funis’ aparecem e desaparecem, em determinados lugares. Ali, a água rodopia e vai formando uma espécie de cratera na superfície do rio. Essa cratera aumenta até um determinado ponto, sugando para o seu interior tudo aquilo que fica ao seu alcance e, ao atingir certo diâmetro e profundidade, ‘explode’ com grande estrondo, atirando para o alto um grande rebojo com tudo aquilo que foi capturado”

⁶² “Os Apiaká gastam oito dias de viagem para atravessar o morro, que forma aquele grande salto, e a água que por ele se despenha faz tal estrondo que nesses oito dias por dentro das bocainas cobertas de expresso bosque, sempre se vai ouvindo até sair do campo, e então voltam a procurar a margem do rio, até chegar a um ribeirão em

The Tapayuna, previously known as the Arinos, lived between the *Uarupá* from the Haravan river (São João da Barra) and were neighbors and enemies of the *Bakairi* or *Macuari* (Nimuendaju, 1948: 310).

In one of his many expeditions, during the years 1780-81, Lacerda e Almeida travelled from Barcelos to Vila Bela, the capital of Mato Grosso where he described some places along the route. He described the Munduruku as living near Santarém, in the furo Ataquí, *animoso, feroz e de corpo pintado* (1944: 5). After passing by the *Tapera dos Abucaxy*, in the Madeira, his expedition crossed the *furo Tupinambaranas* and spent the first night in Borba. At the third night they were already in the Aripuanã river, close to the Arara island. When crossing the Matuará (former Iruri) and Atininga (former Anhangatiny or Anhangá-tinim) rivers the expedition was ferociously attacked by the Indians:

We can only say that on the first day travelling, September 23, the travellers were attacked by the Mura, Lacerda escaping from an arrow that almost hit his neck⁶³

The Maturá river had a dark complexion, owing to its many palm trees and the bushy vegetation at its margins. According to the memoirs of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, it was a place dividing Mura and Munduruku villages. The Mura cultivated different kinds of fruit trees, while the Munduruku seemed more distant and itinerant. More Munduruku individuals could be found in the Anhangá-tinim river, before reaching the Manicoré. In the Anhangá they had, apparently, occupied old Mura habitations (Ferreira, 2007: 28). When the party arrived at the Aripuanã river, on the October 3rd many Indians working for him suddenly abandoned the expedition for fear of having to suffer yet another series of Munduruku attacks just like the Mura had

que está a aldeia dos Tapanhónas. Deste lugar tem os Apiaká marchado até os territórios das duas outras nações Tapanhonaúhúm e Timaoanas, que tem as aldeias for a das margens do Itamiámy”

⁶³ “Basta-nos dizer que logo no primeiro mês de viagem, em 23 de Setembro, foram os expedicionários atacados pelo gentio Mura, escapando o mesmo Lacerda de ser ferido por uma flecha que lhe passou junto do pescoço”. See: Barão de Porto Seguro. “Biographia dos Brasileiros Ilustres por armas, letras, virtudes, etc. Dr. Francisco José de Lacerda e Almeida”. Rio de Janeiro. RIHGB, Tomo XXXVI, 1873. pp. 177-184.

suffered before. Rodrigues Ferreira's Expedition itself had already had difficulty surviving two Munduruku attacks and was not willing to face them for the third time, so they continued from the mouth of the Manicoré straight up until reaching Santo Antonio, the first bigger waterfall of the Madeira (França, 1922).

It may be for this reason that, despite deciding not to enter in close contact with the Munduruku living in between the Manicoré and the Aripuanã it is said that Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira collected many Munduruku objects (Areia, 1991: 193). These objects were probably collected from the untamed Munduruku in the Aripuanã.



Map 7 - FREIRE, José Joaquim Freire. 1793. The painter and cartographer integrated, together with Joaquim José Codina the Philosophical Expedition of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira producing many drawings and sketches from Pará, Rio Negro, Matto Grosso and Cuyabá⁶⁴

On the October 17th, after travelling for almost a month, Lacerda e Almeida mentioned in his diary passing through the waterfall called Salto Theotônio where he heard that Mato Grosso traders had been attacked five times by the *gentio*. In revenge they killed an Indian rower at the mouth of the Jamari and in another ambush:

Mataram quatro, e a um principal, que se supôs ser, pela distinção das penas com que vinha ornado, como também o seu arco e fleche (Lacerda e Almeida, 1781: 24).

Conclusion:

Through cartographic information and descriptions of the landscape, we sought to exemplify the evolution of the knowledge Portuguese had of the river and its indigenous people, beginning in August 1742 when Leonardo Oliveira first penetrated the upper parts of the Tapajós. The Tapajós could only be economically explored since the second half of the eighteenth century because of the difficulties in dealing with the river waterfalls, rapids, “funis” and many groups of Indians living in the region. This Indian space was gradually transformed by the penetration of white explorers into the region delineating an area that would be called Mundurucania in the next chapter. The Mundurucania was for a long time the connection between the Madeira and Tapajós Indians and opens an avenue of research on the interchange between the groups living on those regions.

Trying to define space through time is to open space to movement and change. Movement implies an awareness of other possible spaces, of other possible paths, of other possible histories (Corsin-Jimenez, 2001: 141). The indigenous routes are the product and the cause of the colonization movement. In the second part of the thesis we describe some of them.

⁶⁴ http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/div_cartografia/cart511687.htm

SECOND PART
INTERPRETERS' ROUTES DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

CHAPTER 2: THE FIRST INTERPRETERS AND THE CONTOURS OF THE MUNDURUCANIA

Introduction:

In the previous chapter we saw that in the name of commerce, the Mura and the Mawé Indians were pacified, effecting a sociological reconfiguration of the area which had the Tapajós river as its main point of articulation. In this chapter I am going to describe the process that led to the creation of a place known in the historical sources as the Mundurucania. The existence of the Mundurucania was made possible through the pacification of the Munduruku. We intend to look again into the exchange of letters between the governor of the Captancy of São José do Rio Negro Manoel da Gama Lobo d'Almada and the governor of Pará, Francisco de Souza Coutinho, at the end of the 18th century. Souza Coutinho, at the same time, was communicating with the military commander in Santarém. Both of the governors, reported on the province to the minister in Lisbon Martinho de Mello e Castro. The chapter ends reflecting on the different perspectives coined by the name of Mundurucania, and argues that it is better understood as indigenously constituted. Pacification is here understood not so much in the official sense used by the SPI (see Melo, 2009) but as the means for group division held in specific places with specific people. This in turn will help us to think not only of the indigenous groups as a whole, but also as fragmented at their own locality of living.

The Mundurucania limits and groups

The expression Mundurucania was first used by the priest Aires de Casal while studying Almeida e Serra's travel journals (Prado Junior, 1945). Contrary to the neighboring areas - the *Tapajonia* and the *Xingutania* - names based on the respective rivers, the Mundurucania could be defined ethnically. The priest saw the

Mura and the Munduruku Indians as collectives composed of Muranas and Mundurucana hordes moving within that area, but culturally distinguishable from other areas, establishing some sort of frontier zone. Frontier is here understood not as meaning a fixed borders or limits, but as it appears in colonial European sources, a place understood as a defensive zone at the outmost reaches of a monarch's military presence and domination (Langfur, 2014: 846). In other words, it was a much more relational place; an opportunity for each side to face the enemy, where the enemies were almost always other native Indians. Effectively, all the information we have about the Munduruku in Brazil's colonial period is related to the Madeira River, either to the lower Missions or the upper interfluves. However, we now know that the Munduruku Indians were not only restricted to this area, the *Mundurucania* was formed as a fluvial region, always defined from the point of view of the indigenous groups living at the margins of the Madeira's right tributaries:

With the exception of some small places at the river margins everything is dominated by savage nations such as the Juma, Mawé, Pama, Parintintim, Mura, Andirá, Arara and Munduruku, which give names to this country. Each one has its own language and all of them are split into hords some of them errant, the others fixed in the missions where they have already learned how to plant and to dress. How can that be! The friendship with the Christians have made them less ferocious and more humans Casal: 1976 [1817]: 324)⁶⁵

So, while the savage ferocity of some groups becomes domesticated, many others still lived as pagans in the woods. What was impotent to reflect for Aires de Casal, however, was that hordes could multiply incessantly and many times more in

⁶⁵ “A exceção de alguns pedaços sobre as margens dos rios, que as limitam, tudo o mais é dominado por várias nações selvagens, das quais as mais conhecidas são os Jumas, os Mawes, os Pamas, os Parintintim, os Muras, os Andirás⁶⁵, os Araras, e os Mundrucus, que dão nome ao país: cada um com seu idioma, e todas repartidas em hordas, das quais umas são errantes ainda, outras já tem aldeias fixas onde habitam como os cristãos, dos quais hão também aprendido a fazer roça, onde cultivam vários comestíveis; começando já a cobrir a maior parte do corpo: tanto pode o exemplo! Uns e outros, conhecendo a vantagem da amizade com os cristãos, tem assaz diminuído de ferocidade, e vão passando de malfazejos a tratáveis”

relation to white first contact. Not only that, but he also delimitedated a space where they could move and called that space probably by the name of the most famous group at the time, as we have just seen, they had recently been “pacified”. The limits of the Mundurucania territory corresponds, more or less, to what in the literature was traditionally called the Tapajós-Madeira ethnographic area. According to Galvão, 1973 [1960] (see also Hopper, 1967), the Munduruku expelled the *Kawahib* to the Madeira and expanded its territory as far as the *Nambikwara* to the South. This massive definition of the place, however, can only remind us of the colonial period when such socio-cultural unity was understood as throught different nations living at the river margins, in the sense given by Hugarte that is:

Its use has at least two meanings. Besides the usual one, meaning region with more or less identifiable limits, the first one is territory under jurisdictional authority. The second is of territory occupied by a people with one socio-cultural unity (Hugarte, 2009: 393)⁶⁶

Historical sources usually refer to indigenous nations but we can see here how that notion of socio-cultural unity is problematic. Despite the attempts of anthropologists and others, it is not possible to find one (or more) unifying characteristic that will distinguish a group--be it material or symbolic, so our own categories have been attributed to that group. Not only that, but the concept of nation is based on state centralization and institutions that are not universal in kind, and in the case of indigenous Amazonia can only be understood through ethnographic inquiry.

In the year 1833, with the Imperial Code of Criminal Process (1832) legislation, the Pará Province was divided into three different counties: Grão Pará, Lower Amazonas and Upper Amazonas. The *Capitania de São José do Rio Negro* created during the Pombaline administration was replaced by the *Comarca do Alto-Amazonas*.

⁶⁶ “Seu uso tem, pelo menos, dois grandes significados, além do comum de região com limites mais ou menos identificáveis: o primeiro é de território sob autoridade jurisdicional; o segundo é de território ocupado por um povo com certa unidade cultural”

According to the Araujo e Amazonas census, of the 40,584 inhabitants registered in the *Câmara do Alto Amazonas*, 23,339--more than a half--were “domesticated Indians” pertaining to different tribes in the Madeira river, among them “mundurucús, maués, torás, parintintins, etc”. With the labyrinth of river channels, lakes and streams it was hard to establish a dividing line between the different provinces and counties. When Indians came to the cities, there was not a permanent rupture with the rivers and forest where they first lived. On the contrary, population displacements were common in accordance to the seasonal rhythms of hunting, fishing or gathering wild fruits. This kind of work regime allowed certain people to stay for a long time far away from their homes, only returning when it was time to work on the gardens. Therefore, it was difficult to calculate wandering as well as resident Indians as they undermined the first Imperial population census in 1819 and all subsequent others. In consequence, it was also difficult for the public administration to know if the province was demographically growing or depopulating. In fact, governors couldn’t know what was happening even in the areas surrounding Manaus or Belém. In one of the first statistical maps for the recently created *comarca* (1840), for example, we have a box identifying a territory called *Mundurucania*. It is composed of five places, distributed along the Amazon, Madeira, Canumã and Maués rivers; they are: the Freguezia of Araretama, Canumã, Tupinambarana; Lusea and the small village of Maçari.

The table’s estimate is that the *Mundurucania* housed 4,459 Indians out of a total of around 8,132 inhabitants divided in 880 houses (*fogos*). This was, however, based on incomplete statements. The house chief (*chefe dos fogos*), by fear of being over-charged in tax; to preserve him and the like, or for some other reason, would not reveal how many people exactly lived under his protection (Sampaio, 1993/4: 7). One could even say that when Indians came down to the cities they were always in a hurry to get away again (Maw, 1829: 226).

The *descimentos* made up more than a half of the Indian population of the region, but most of them were still isolated from white contact. The Maué and Munduruku nations themselves represented 89.5% of that population. Moreover, it is revealing to observe from the *Table* that the Munduruku and Maué Indians were concentrated at the margins of the Maués (Lusea) and Amazonas (Tupinambarana) rivers, and from a total of 3,559 people, 89% were Maué and Munduruku Indians of the *Mundurucania*. The rivers Canumã and the Furo dos Tupinambaranas were hardly occupied (Moreira Neto, 1988: 320).

Even without specifying their respective population the census interests us because it further divided the ethnic groups, The Munduruku, for example, were now composed of two different groups: the “Boccas Pretas” and the “Campineiros”, both living in the “Lower Amazon-Tapajós and Maués”. The “Mundurucús” themselves were living in the “Lower Amazon, Madeira-Maués, Apucuitaua, Canumã, Abacaxys e Sucundury”. The Mawés was living in the “Lower-Amazon-Maués and Andirás” and the Mura in the “Lower Amazon/Solimões, Madeira-Autaz and Baetas, Manicoré, Matauará and Canumã tributaries”. (Bittencourt, 1985: 161)⁶⁷.

Although it is difficult to give a precise estimation of how many people (including Indians) were living between the Rio Negro and Pará in the middle of the 19th century, it is possible to estimate that a third of the total of indigenous people of the Rio Negro population were living in the Mundurucania. Apparently the Mundurucania was a state like any other official territory in Amazonia, but still dominated only by wandering Indians. With a very European sense of space in mind, Araújo Lima even remembers that the Mundurucania capital was the actual city of Mawés (Luzéa) the land of the warrior Munduruku, and also of their descendants, the Mawé. From this perspective, the Mawé settlement was the center of indigenous activity and indigenous circulation within that bigger area, which he describes as:

The convergence of the Madeira and the Amazonas rivers to East and West are the home of many different populations besides being excellent land for agriculture, cattle farming or husbandry. By the richness of the herds of the Autazes or the hydrographic labyrinth of channels and lakes forming the Urariá channel, between the Tapajós and the Madeira almost as two liquid parallel lines departing from the Amazon river it is possible to delineate a famous region called Mundurucania, during the nineteenth century (Araújo Lima: 286, 1937)⁶⁸

⁶⁷ When dividing the Comarca population by river, in 1830, Baena calculates the Amazon, the Madeira, the Canumã and the Mawé-assú rivers had a total of 7,901 inhabitants a little bit less than the Rio Negro.

⁶⁸ “Os ângulos de convergência dos rios Madeira e Amazonas encerram, nas áreas de seus setores, para Leste como para Oeste, regiões ubérrimas, capazes de abrigar

For Araújo the Amazon region is naturally surrounded by the Amazonas river to the north and the Juruena river to the south. The Madeira river has its limits to the west and the Tapajós in the east. Inside that Cartesian figure different nations lived sometimes in harmony, sometimes at war, but always with no central government or rule:

There, live the Juma, Mawé, Pama, Parintim, Mura, Andirá, Arara, Abacaxi, Anicoré, Aponariá, Aricunane, Ariquena, Bari, Curuaxiá, Itatapriá, Juqui, Torá, Urupá e Munduruku, from where it takes its name (Amazonas, 1852: 205)⁶⁹

Indigenous Trade Routes around Itaituba

We know that from the mid-eighties the Scottish captain Hislop was already famous for his navigations on the Tapajós river. He lived in Santarém, but could be absent for a period of almost a year when ascending to Cuiabá, something he did several times to bring salt and guaraná in exchange for gold. There were ways, however, to do this kind of upriver commerce and every Cuiabano experienced trader knew the guaraná commerce was hard because at the top of the Acará waterfall one had to leave the riverbanks and walk into the forest by paths they would never discover without indigenous help. Traders in Santarém were aware that the Indians from above, mainly Munduruku, traded sarsaparilla, flour and salt-fish. At this time Santarém was the center of cacao production in the region. They also knew that the richly decorated macaw feather dresses found in the city were produced at a distance

vastas populações, excelentemente propícias à agricultura, nas suas explorações de pecuária ou de lavoura: sejam os ricos Autazes, com os seus já bem incrementados rebanhos; ou esse caprichoso retículo de canais, de furos, de paranás, que tramam o labirinto hidrográfico, cujo eixo é o portentoso Urariá, e que, entre o Madeira e o Tapajós, quase como duas paralelas líquidas, distendidas para o Norte e para Leste sobre o curso principal do Amazonas, delimita a região, historicamente famosa, que "a geografia dos meados do século XIX chamou Mundurucania"

⁶⁹ "Habitam-no as nações Juma, Maué, Pamma, Parintim, Mura, Andirá, Arára, Abacaxi, Anicoré, Aponariá, Aricunane, Ariquena, Bari, Curuaxiá, Itatapriá, Juqui, Torá, Urupá e Mundurucú, de quem toma o nome"

of several hundred miles at a large settlement of Indians who also embalmed the heads of enemies killed in war (Edwards, 1847: 101). When A.R. Wallace arrived in Santarém in the middle of the century, he found guaraná been sold in Santarém, but now, not anymore in the beautiful forms described thirty years earlier, but as long oval or nearly cylindrical sticks (Wallace, 1908: 452). Wallace also carried recommendations to look for the Captain. Hislop's place was a point of encounter between the city authorities, the principal traders of Santarém and many international travelers. With a good view of the river, they would sit there every evening to smoke, take Paricá (Niopo) snuff and talk politics and law for an hour or two (Wallace, 1851: 96). The British naturalist, Henry Walter Bates had gone a week earlier to a trip up to the Tapajós river when Wallace arrived in Santarém going down river in the direction of Gurupá. On Bates' return to Santarém, he just missed US Commander William L. Herndon descending the Amazon River. Unlike Bates, Herndon had decided to face the Tapajós upper cataracts from Itaituba, describing the difficulties of surmounting Maranhão, Furnas and Apuí waterfalls. Around Santa Ana das Cachoeiras, however, to avoid the next falls he crossed to the left side of the river margin and took a *varadouro*, closely following a little river called *Momboai*. He then walked through a narrow path in the forest for two days to a Mawé village called *Mandu-assu*. There, the Indians promised him he would meet the "king of the Mawé nation", a tuxaua called Socano who lived eleven days journey on foot distant from the city of Itaituba. He then got to know other Mawé villages like *Mossé* and *Taguariti* (Herndon, 1854: 308-5).

Based on Herndon's information we understand that there were two routes to go to the Mawé villages inland, the first one on foot, from the Mawé village of Itaituba⁷⁰, and the second one, by boat in the Tapajós close to the mouth of the Mamboai river and then walking. Mboia is the name of a snake that, according to some, is the origin of a monstrous creature full of power that could kill anyone at first sight accounting for the numerous tapir bones and skulls found unburied in the forest. According to a story heard by the boy explorer Ernest T. Morris, a Javari palm fell from a great height injuring Mboia. Severely wounded, and because it could have easily been bitten by hungry wild hogs, the snake was saved by a friendly toucan who

⁷⁰ This route may have been the one Agassiz heard ten years later at the end of the year 1865 when he met a Mawé and a Munduruku Indian with his wife who had come from a location twenty days journey away to do business.

brought her to his nest in a hollow tree. To retribute the kindness, the snake let the toucan sit upon her eggs giving origin to this powerful being called toucan-mboia, half bird and half snake (1884).

Jacaré and Mumbuai Maué Routes

At the end of the 19th century the engineer Gustav Trapper (Toepper) was commissioned to build a road that would cross the first set of waterfalls in the Tapajós river, but less than a year later he died without finishing the project. Adriano Xavier de Oliveira, his successor, alleged the construction was impossible to continue because of the rivers, swamps and fever. When it was impossible to continue working on the right bank, they moved to the left bank.

Travelling in the year 1908, coming from Santarém, Father Hugo Mense, decided to continue his pastoral visits along the Tapajós in the difficult waters near Itaituba. He was apparently following the steps of the bishop Dom José Afonso de Moraes Torres when, in 1845 his third pilgrimage took him inland. It took him 21 months to travel up the Amazon and Solimões passing through the Madeira, Purus and Tapajós and ending in Itaituba where he visited the Munduruku, “the most numerous and warrior nation which has ever worked for the state (Santos, 1992: 303-5). Probably not considering that the Munduruku had gone down in history because of fighting the Cabanos side by side with the government, or even for engaging in expeditions against the quilombos, Mense bought a ticket from the *Souza & Braga company* arriving at the propriety of Eudóro Braga, son of the Colonel Antonio Braga in order to get to know the Munduruku better. Villa Braga, as it was called for obvious reasons, was located close to a Mawé settlement, a region also known as the Maranhãozinho waterfall, where “deságua, por uma boca de 50 braças, o rio Jacaré, que é o caminho mais seguido para as terras dos Mawés (Barbosa Rodrigues, 1875: 84):

From Jacaré up the Buburé lived (...) many people and small horse trails connected the villages. Here, a road had to cross the rivers Jacaré, Tracuá, Sumidouro, Aruá and Marambuezinho but

short bridges would be enough. The terrain is good and between Buburé and Acará there are no waterfalls (Mense, Diary: 1008)⁷¹

The guaraná produced by the Mawé and Munduruku Indians, was the main product of trade with Cuyabá via the cities of Mawés and Itaituba. According to Nimuendaju, the city of Itaituba was founded first of all with Mawé indians in 1823 and five years later already had 400 Mawé Indians living there (1948: 246).

Down below the island of Goiana-Laritania, in direction to the Amazon Valley, the river is free of passage, accessible to all kind of ships. Upriver, from the point of view of someone going to the Brazilian Central Plateau the river is obstructed, from waterfall to waterfall, from rapid to rapid. After much discussion we can say that this is the point where the navigable Tapajós meets the waterfalls (Coudreau, 1895: 13)⁷²

According to Kapfhammer the guaraná produced by the men plays a ritual role during the rainy session (January-June), since recruiting people to produce and consume it together requires a concentration of individuals in one village producing a “universalistic consensus” that will feed larger unities to work on the manioc harvesting at the following season (2009: 225)

The Munduruku Pacification and the creation of the Madeira Jesuit Lower Missions

⁷¹ “De Jacaré até acima de Buburé viviam (...) muitas pessoas e pequenas veredas e trilhas a cavalo ligavam as moradias. Aqui a Estrada teria que atravessar igarapés: Jacaré, Tracuá, Sumidouro, Aruá e Marambuezinho, mas pequenas pontes seriam suficientes, o terreno é bom, entre Buburé e Acará são seis léguas sem cachoeiras”

⁷² “En aval du Goyana-Lauritania c'est le rio libre, accessible aux vapeurs; en amont c'est le rio obstrué, hondissant de chute en chute, courant ele rapicle en rapide; - en aval c'est la vallée amazonienne; - en amont c'est le plateau central brésilien. Apres bien eles tâtonnements, on s'aperçoit aujourd'hui que le point toul désigné pour être le chef-lieu du Tapajoz navigable, c'est le point de contact avec le Tapajoz des chutes”

During the first half of the 18th century the Jesuits maintained four missions along the lower Tapajós⁷³, they were: São José dos Maitapus (1722), Iburari (1723), Nossa Senhora dos Arapiuns (1723) and Santo Inácio (1740). Founded by the missionary José da Gama in 1722 at the time of the missions in the Arapiuns, São José was very well situated and prosperous. It had, in 1730 a total of 490 Indians (Leite, 1943: 365)⁷⁴. Part of them must have come from the Tapajós river itself, as we can see in a letter sent by João Tavares to the “Visitador Geral” of the Cia de Jesus Missions, Father Jacinto de Carvalho:

And Father João de São Paio will take out from the Negro and Mawé rivers one hundred and fifty eight slave people that after being examined will be split by the Government hands; Father José da Gama took out twelve slaves from the Tapajós river and having the chiefs received some more they still cannot bring them

⁷³ We shall not forget the “Relation” (1728) produced by Frei Francisco de S. Marcos, at the time missionary in the Nhamundá. In: Question de Limites soumise a Lárbitrage de S.M Le Roi D’Italie par Le Brésil et la Grande-Bretagne. Annexes du Premier Mémoire du Brésil. Vol.1. “Documents D’Origine Portugaise. Premiere Série. 1903. Limites entre Le Brésil et la Guyane Anglaise. N. 31: “Relação que Frei Francisco de S.Manços, Religiosos da Provincia da Piedade e Missionário na aldeia de Nhamondás, faz ao Rei da sua viagem pelo Rio das Trombetas, praticando o gentio e rendendo-o a vassalagem de Sua Real Magestade – 6 de Janeiro de 1728. pp. 39-48. And also Frei Bonifácio Mueller comments on: “Notícias. Fontes Históricas “MUELLER, Bonifácio. Como Frei Francisco Descobriu o Rio Trombetas”. Revista Santo Antonio, Ano 13, n.1, 1955”.

⁷⁴ Pinhel received a Place name only in 1757. The current city of Itaituba founded in the second half of the 19th century depended on the Freguesia de Pinhel till the year 1853 (Leite, 365). In 1723, Manuel Rebelo creates the Arapiuns and Comarus *Mission of Nossa Senhora da Assunção* in the current city of Vila Franca and in 1737 the priest José Lopes transfers the *Mission of Santo Inácio de Loyola* from the margins of the Amazon river (Parintins) to the Tapajós river, in what is now the Village of Boim (Canto Cronologia Eclesiástica, 2007: 24).

for three barbarous nations still block the way. And because of the crimes these Nations have committed the Governor declared war against them (Anais da BN, vol. 67, Vol. II: 213)⁷⁵

Father João de San Payo was in the Canumã in 1712 after arriving from Portugal. Canumã was already active by the end of the previous century. It was twinned with the Abacaxis Mission right in front, that originally sheltered Torá⁷⁶ and Abacaxi Indians. According to Bandeira, since the military expedition in 1716 that the captain of Pará João de Barros da Guerra organized in the Madeira, the Munduruku started to be persecuted as slaves and were spread all around the region until 1876 when they were found by Domingos Monteiro Peixoto and Domingos Jacy Monteiro in the Franciscan Mission (Bandeira, 1926: 40).

The Abacaxis Mission was officially founded in the year 1696 by the Jesuit Father João da Silva, after the division (Repartição) of the missions in the previous year. In 1697 the Governor Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho travelled in the region in the hope of diminishing the influence of the Jesuits and making the abandoned mission of Abacaxis the center of gravitation for the reception of several *principais* of other nations of the lower valley presumed to be friendly to the Portuguese, which had already been received by Father Fritz (Sweet, 1974: 375). The Abacaxis Indians moved away from the Mission to *Itacotiara* (pedras pintadas) or *Vila de Serpa* (Mendes de Almeida, 1874: 291)⁷⁷. Usually the groups *descidos* to the

⁷⁵ “E o Padre João de São Paio tirará do rio negro e do Rio dos Magues cento e cinquenta e oito pessoas escravas as quais depois de examinadas remeteu ao Governador para os mandar repartir; o Padre José da Gama resgatou no rio de Tapajos doze pessoas escravas, e tendo entregue mais outros resgates a alguns principais para por eles lhe darem os cativos que tinham não se poderão ainda conduzir por o impedir a passagem de três nações de bárbaros a quem por outros vários crimes que tem cometido manda fazer Guerra o Governador”

⁷⁶ Also Turazes.

⁷⁷ Maria Adelina Amorim found a 1713 letter in the IHGB Collection from [Padre] Miguel Ângelo Tamburini, Geral da Companhia de Jesus, ao Padre José Vidigal, superior do Maranhão, sobre a venda do cacau e do cravo guardados no colégio do Pará, vindo das missões de Canumã e dos Abacaxis para Lisboa, para que com o dinheiro arrecadado se comprassem as coisas necessárias àquelas missões. Inclui

missions entered in conflict with the *colonos*, especially in relation to the resolutions found in the *Diretório dos Índios*.

Documents from this period to Brazilian authorities were signed by the *Principais*. In a letter dated from 1719 archived at the Lisbon National Library, the principal Paulo from the Abacaxis Mission complains to Bernardo Pereira de Berredo, Governor of Maranhão, that Farther Sampaio was not fulfilling his duty as a missionary. He also discussed the flour business with the Rio Negro troops (Carvalho Junior, 2005: 231). The Principals were perhaps more articulated with the whites than with their own group of Indians to begin with, because the titles of the first Principal were given by Pombal after the agreement of a *descimento*. However, it is hard to believe that Indians passively accepted metropolitan authority as a superior power (Coelho, 2006: 126)

In another letter, this time addressed to Jacinto de Carvalho in May 1714, the Tupinambarana Mission Priest Padre Bartolomeu Rodrigues describes the river banks as full of *gentio* and briefly describes this ethnic panorama. He points out that in just a three month trip from the mouth of the Madeira one could start seeing indigenous villages that were composed mainly of *Guarajus* living towards the South. Among other ethnic groups, the most numerous were the *Pamas*, *Torá*, *Arara*, *Purupurues*, *Jãoens*, *Cajaripunás*, *Jaraguaris*, *Aruaxis*, *Mura* (and the *Mucas*) (Leite, III, 1943: 394). The Torá had first contact with the white people in the year 1688 and by 1719 many Torá Indians lived in the Abacaxis area after a Portuguese expedition tried to destroy them (Steward, 1949: 398). Rodrigues mentioned the Apanariâ would later be remembered by São José and Monteiro de Noronha as living in the Mawés river (Menendez, 1992: 283). We know from Noronha that in the first quarter of the 18th century Torá were already attacking the missionaries under governor Christovão da Costa Freire who decided to wage war against them and send the survivors, after their devastation, to the Abacaxis mission:

Reducing the Indians to their last villages they asked for peace which was given with the condition of them going to live in the Abacaxis mission, today village of Serpa, however staying in the

nota de J. Lúcio de Azevedo em português, Col. IHGB DL358,27.04. (Amorim, 2011: 80).

woods many more of them who ran away from war (Noronha, 1862: 30)⁷⁸

In 1723, João de San Payo was still working in the Madeira lower missions: Nossa Senhora, S. Francisco Xavier and S. Lourenço (Leite, III, 1943: 388). Some years later he founded the mission of Santo Antonio das Cachoeiras. In 1728 Domingos de Cruz wrote to Jacinto de Carvalho, the provincial head in Maranhão regarding, among other subjects, the dispersal of Mawé Indians⁷⁹ in the sertões and the war going on between the Torá and Mura Indians. The main concern, however, was the large number of Indians dying at the Mission of Topinambaranas since the year of 1725, after Father Bordello Reis:

More than seventy people came to me telling me it was not possible to live at Aicurapã because of the engravings of the Acoriatos, Çapopes Apanariãs, Comandes, Abicoaras, Topinmbaranas and now lately from the Andiras⁸⁰

Probably because of the need of a labor force, the *visitador-geral* of the Jesuit Missions of the Maranhão State, Father Jacinto de Carvalho writes to the king, in the same year of 1725, acknowledging the importance of the presence of the missionaries João de Sampaio and José da Gama in the *resgate* of *Abacaxi*, *Arapium*, *Tapajó*, *Barbado* and *Mawé* Indians from the Negro river to the city of Pará⁸¹. By the end of the decade there were still attempts being made to reduce the *Barbado* Indians. In a letter to the king, Alexandre de Sousa Freire, governor of Maranhão, describes the efforts of

⁷⁸ “Reduzidos os índios a última consternação, pediram paz, que lhe foi concedida com a condição de se descerem, e agregarem a aldeia de Abacaxiz, hoje villa de Serpa; ficando porem muitos, que por mais remotos não foram invadidos, ou escaparam do furor da Guerra”

⁷⁹ Also called Maguez.

⁸⁰ “Viera me 70 e tantos pessoas mas com condição que não havia de assistir em Aicurapã, que tinha sido sepultura dos Acoriatos, Çapopes, Apanariãs, Comandes, Abicoaras, Topinmbaranas e agora ultimamente dos Andiras”. See: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. Cod 4517. F.26. Domingos de Cruz letter to Jacinto de Carvaho. 28th August 1728. Collegio do Pará.

⁸¹ AHU_ACL_CU_013, Cx. 9, D. 756 [1725, Setembro, Pará].

Father Gabriel Malagrida to move the *descimentos* of *Barbados* (later called *Lontras*⁸²) and *Coroás* Indians⁸³ into reductions.

In 1730, Father Manuel Fernandes, and Father Sampaio changed the name of the village. It was now called Trocano but still located between the Jamari river and the first Madeira waterfalls (Mendes de Almeida, 1874: 295). The furthest village administered by the Cia de Jesus was the Mission of Trocano or Santo Antonio de Araretama, This changed places several times along the Madeira River because of *Mura* attacks (Menendez, 1981-2: 302)⁸⁴. Araretama, or the land of the Araras, later Borba, was the first place in the Amazonas to receive the status of village. Munduruku and Mawé Indians were not in Araretama⁸⁵. In this same year, the capitain Sebastião Rodrigues Barbosa also created *descimentos* in the Maraguás river⁸⁶.

The Jesuit Father Manuel Fernandes was in charge of the mission around the year 1738 when the “Autos de Devassa” were emitted, calculating that the Mura empire ranged from the Aripuanã river to the Giparaná in the Madeira.

In 1756, the village of Borba was the main commercial warehouse between the Capitania of Pará and the recently created Capitania do Mato Grosso (in 1748). When Pombal first enforced the June 7th law in 1755 he replaced Father Eckart, the last Jesuit in the Madeira, who was at the time in charge of the Trocano mission hosting Baré, Pama, Torá and Ariquena Indians⁸⁷. Before him, Father Antonio Joseph was in charge of the mission (Azevedo, 1893: 146). Under Father Antonio Joseph the mission

⁸² AHU_ACL_CU_013, Cx. 71, D. 6046 [1773, Outubro, 12, Pará].

⁸³ AHU_ACXL_CU_013, Cx. 11, D. 1055 [1729, Outubro, 5, Santa Maria de Belém do Grão-Pará]. See also: AHU_ACL_CU_013, Cx. 12, D. 1118 [1730, Junho, 20, São Luis do Maranhão].

⁸⁴ Keller-Leuzinger believed the Mission housed Torá and Baré Indians and thought the attacks had been made by the Araras instead of Mura: The Mundurucu have long abandoned their supremacy on the Madeira. They left this river even before the Conquest, I believe, to another powerful tribe, the Araras, who also nowadays are not held in- the same fear as they were before (Keller-Leuzinger, 1875: 139).

⁸⁵ According to Vitor Hugo the indigenous inhabitant of Araretama were the Mura, the Pama and the Torá and the place “achava-se mais acima da primeira fundação, entre o ribeirão Ipanema [Ipanenema] e a ilha Tucunaré [ribeirão Maparaná ou lago Puneão (Cuniã?)], um pouco arredado da margem esquerda do Rio Madeira. Duas léguas acima desemboca o Rio Jamari e a mais doze abaixoa cha-se a foz do Rio Machado” (Hugo: 39).

⁸⁶ AHU_ACL_CU_013, Cx. 12, D. 1097 [Ant. 1730, Março, 23].

⁸⁷ The Missionary of Abacaxis in 1755 was Antonio Meisterburg.

changed places several times because of Mura attacks until finally establishing itself in the locality of Borba (Baena, 2004: 380).

This lake region, especially in the Madeira's left margin, on the *aponião river*, was continuously occupied by the Mura. They also appeared at the mouth of the Jamari river. This was the place where the village of São João do Crato was formed in the year 1802 as dependent on Borba, near the lake *Puneam*, in a place a Mura captain already lived (Baena, 2004: 331). Crato, later Baetas, became dependent on the village of Manicoré by Provincial Law in 1868. The indigenous groups living in Crato were the Ariquena, Baré, Torá and Orupa who were transferred in 1782 from Borba (Menendez, 1991: 287).

The *Ariquena* distinguished themselves from the others through the big ears they possessed, a cultural trait cultivated from childhood which gave them the nickname of *oreludos* by the Portuguese (Porro, 2011: 580). The other Indians distinguished themselves through face painting as in the descriptions made by Father João Daniel some time between 1757- 1776. According to him:

The ones from the Madeira river are called Torases and Urupases and they also have their distinction because the Torases have one dark line going down from the ears to the side of the mouth and the Urupases have only the contours of the mouth painted in black. Others have a mark coming down from the forehead passing the nose and mouth and finishing at the beard (Daniel, 1976: 268)⁸⁸

The Pama had "spontaneously and voluntarily" opted for *descimento*, as we read in Bernardo de Melo e Castro's writing to Mendonça Furtado in 1762⁸⁹ but were still subject to missionary attempts to reduce them in 1765. The Missions that are directly related to our research here are the Abacaxis Mission (Sapopé, Taroris, Jaguaretas, Araras, Catalunis, Macus, Xapins and others); Mawé Mission (Abacaxi);

⁸⁸ "Os do Rio Madeira chamados uns de Torases e outros de Urupases, também tem sua distinção: porque os Turases tem só uma linha, ou fita preta, que lhes desce dos ouvidos aos cantos da boca; e os urupases só tem preta a boca a roda, ficando a boca livre. Outros tem uma fita que desce desde a testa pelo nariz, e boca até a barba"

⁸⁹ AHU_ACL_CU_013, Cx. 53, D. 4828. [1762, Agosto, 20, Pará]. It tells also that the priest José Monteiro de Noronha made de *descimento* of 33 Indians on the Japurá river.

Mataipu Mission (Capicidania, Quarupis and Indians from other five tribes) and Trocano (Ariquenas, Baré and Purupuru) (Leite, 2000: 139).

The other expedition we know went down the Madeira to find out “what the Spanish knew” and was run by the *bandeirantes* Armando (Antonio?) de Almeida Moraes and Tristão da Cunha Gago in the year of 1741. A few years before, in 1736, communication between Cuiabá and the recently discovered gold mines in The Guaporé river was established. The best example of this attempt would be the history of the Corumbiara river at its left margin.

It is only when João Pereira Caldas assumed office as the governor of Pará in 1772 that we begin to hear news about Munduruku attacks on the village of Boim. This information is confirmed by Ribeiro Sampaio who says that:

For the last four years, the Muturicús intimidate the villages along the Topajóz river when they bring the women with them. At the time of war the women help men giving them the arrows to shoot more efficiently as we had the opportunity to see last year in a conflict at the Tapajós fortress (Ribeiro de Sampaio, 1825: 30)⁹⁰

This occurred not only in the Madeira region, but also in the Tapajós, as described by Palma Muniz for the year 1773. Some Munduruku attacked the Portuguese fortress built at its mouth (Palma Muniz, 1906: 15)⁹¹. At the end of September of the same year they arrived at the *Village of Serpa*. Less than six months after the Mura arrival in Borba, in November, commandeer Antonio Carlos wrote again calculating that the village received around 1000 Indians, but,

⁹⁰ “Os Muturicús, que de quarto anos a esta parte hostilizam as nossas povoações do rio Topajóz, trazem consigo as mulheres, as quais na ocasião do conflito lhe subministrão as frechas, como se observou no combate, que com aquella belizozissima nação teve o anno passado o comandante da Fortaleza daquele rio, no qual sustentarão valerosamente o fogo, que se lhe fez por hum largo espaço de tempo”

⁹¹ It is said that the name of the Tropas river was given because of some expeditions sent from Santarém to the upper Tapajos to capture the Munduruku (RCID-FUNAI).

This village is surrounded by Munduruku and almost everyday the Mura come reporting finding their trails and routes (Santos, 1995: 32-34)⁹²

Perceiving the approach of the Mura, part of the Munduruku Indians already in the process of migrating from the Tapajós started to dominate the Madeira interfluvium justifying João Pereira Caldas' fear that after the *reduction* of the Mura, the Munduruku could replace them and concludes that:

Eliminating ones, although reducing the number of people to fight, always come others to hold their place (CEDEAM, 1984: 74)⁹³

The pacification of the Munduruku can be better understood if we look carefully at the exchange of letters between Francisco de Souza Coutinho, governor of Pará, Martinho de Mello e Castro, Minister of Negócios Ultramarinos and Manoel da Gama Lobo d'Almada, governor of Rio Negro in the year 1794. Army logistics had to be mobilized in the face of this new situation. They were going to either try to make peace with them or to chase them off forever. The troops needed to eat flour in order to survive. Lobo d'Almada witnessed and learned from the Mura pacification. News about the Munduruku ranged from his raids and assaults in the villages of the Tapajós like Boim and Óbidos to bringing insecurity as far as the Xingu and Tocantins rivers and its tributaries like the Moju, Oeyras, Portel and Melgaço (Reis, 2006: 49).

The sequence of letters that follow is notable because they picture Munduruku movements in the direction of Belém in the Xingu-Tocantins interfluvium. We base our discussion on the published letters from APEP that are reprinted in the CEDEAM Bulletin and in Arthur Reis. At the end of June 1794 Lobo d'Almada wrote to Francisco de Souza Coutinho to discuss the first Munduruku attacks:

⁹² “Está esta Villa rodeada de Mundurucus que quase todos os dias me vem os Muras com novidades de lhe acharem trilhas”

⁹³ Para que se bem livre de uns não deixe de ficar sempre infestada de outros essa navegação, porem menos inimigos haverá a combater

For the just captured Munduruku now I intend to leave here one or two of them who promise to bring me their chief to talk. I do not trust this kind of people but I have nothing to lose making that step. I will keep your Excellency informed of the result (Reis, 2006: 231)⁹⁴

In advancing the thesis that the ethnic groups divided themselves in smaller dispersed groups, we believe that this section of the Munduruku was not the same as that reported ten years earlier at Boim, as we saw in the last chapter. The Mura movement during the three years described by the *Notícias de Voluntário a Redução* apparently took the route down the Amazonas river, at first near the Villa de Ega (Tefé) and the Codajás river region going to Manacapuru and then Autazes, Borba and Serpa already in the Madeira area. In this migration route, the Canumã and Urariá were generally a stopover. No one knew exactly, however, where they were coming from and how communicated with inland areas. Autaz is a region of lagoons, swamps and channels, a labyrinth of islands and waterways that changes with every rainy season (Hemming, 1978: 429). The Mura and their different groups seemed sometimes to cover an area as extensive as the Munduruku. Francisco de Sousa Coutinho was impressed how by Mura and Munduruku appeared at the same time in so many remote and faraway places. It is for this reason that the army commanders in Santarém already suspected that there were three different groups of Munduruku:

There are three big villages inside the woods but during this period it is difficult to get there because of the rains and the strong currents of the waterfalls. Close to Aveiros the waterfalls are only five days of travel and the Monderucú lands ten days up the waterfalls. I am still waiting for the Arupá guides (Santos, 1995: 49)⁹⁵

⁹⁴ “Emquanto aos Mundurucus, agora pretendo largar hum de dous, que aqui se apanharão, que me promete trazer o seu Prinicpal a fallar-me, ficando aqui o outro. Não confio na promessa de semelhante gente; mas também nada se perde em se dar este passo. Informarei a V. Ex.a do resultado”

⁹⁵ “São três grandes povoações deles metidos na Mata Virgem e que agora no tempo do inverno é muito dificultoso pelas muitas chuvas que neste Reino há e as

In 1797 Lobo d'Almada received congratulations from Portugal for the efforts in the pacification of the *Gentio Mondorocú* (Reis, 2006: 225) and apparently the following year Portugal believed the Munduruku were completely pacified as we can read in His Majesty's letter to the people of Pará:

Every resident that brought into service the Indians from the nations who are already at peace such as are the Mura, Munduruku and Karajá I advise to communicate immediately so as to begin educating them in order them to be baptized as soon as possible (CEDEAM, 1987:83)⁹⁶

On the orders of a Royal Letter (Carta Régia) dated May 12th 1798, the Pombaline Indian Directory was suppressed and villages were transformed, yet again, in Religious Missions. Francisco de Souza Coutinho had a difficult set of circumstances to deal with. Because of the lack of labor force, the Mawé, Munduruku and Mura Indians had to be pacified and, at that moment, were, in his eyes, almost civilized. The intentions behind the new law were, in a sense, to ask for private funding. White private entities could now sign service contracts with the resident Indians of the villages and feel free to proceed in *descimentos* of dispersed forest Indians. All the Indians acquired by private *descimentos* were formalized by the *Termos de Educação e Instrução* (Sampaio, 2003: 130). Some sort of indigenous hierarchy was in operation here. Already settled Indians may vary from the ones who managed to speak in a way the Portuguese could understand and sign contracts and the ones who would serve as guides, rower man and instructors within the forest and river trails. A legislative exceptionality for the Mura, Munduruku and Karajá indians

Carneiradas que há nas Cachoeiras, mas não ficam longe daqui pois do Lugar de Aveiros as cachoeiras são só cinco dias de viagem, e as terras dos Monderucú dez acima das cachoeiras, estou esperando pelos práticos que são os Arupas”

⁹⁶ ‘Todos aqueles moradores que ajustarem e trouxerem para os serviceos os índios d’aquellas nações que já estiverem em paz como estão agora os Murás, Mondrucús e Carajáz: ordeno-vos lhes permittais estes ajustes, obrigando-os porém a manifestar logo ao governo aqueles que d’este modo consigo trouxerem, afim que mandeis imediatamente proceder o termo, pelo qual sejam obrigados os referidos moradores a educar e instruir os mesmos índios, de sorte que dentro de certo espaço de tempo sejam ells baptizados”

was then guaranteed under the new law, meaning they could still be recruited for colonial services (legalslavery) in exchange for education and baptism (Amoroso, 1992: 306). The recently created Corpo Efetivo de Indios functioned as Indian recruiters based on kinship ties and the familiarity with the forest routes. The idea was perhaps that these selected enlisted Indians would have their mobility limited between their original villages and the civilized village (Sampaio, 2003: 133). It is interesting to note, however, that the *descimento* expeditions did not always know to where they were going. In other words, Indian guides may have got lost in the forest, meeting different independent groups, as was the case of the Indian Raimundo de Farias around the Curuá river in 1766 (Roller, 2014: 109-10).

Harris (2010) recounts that during the year 1801 José Marinho Lisboa, the head of the army in Santarém, took a Munduruku headman to the city to begin negotiations over the settling of his group in the Santa Cruz Mission. Founded in 1803, Santa Cruz started to house several Munduruku Indians. It was during this year that the Conde dos Arcos wrote to the secretary of the marine Visconde de Anadia informing him about the delivery of eight to ten thousand Indians from the Munduruku nation, living near the Portuguese establishments in the lower Tapajós⁹⁷. A year later, Baena writes that:

There appeared in the city two Munduruku headman with their groups. The purpose of the visit is to get to know the Governor who received them in a very civilized way building them a house next to his residence. He also indicated a tenent by the name Cabeça de Bagre to be their host and make them food. More than that the two headman are making the meals together with the Governors and copyng everything they do at the table (Baena, 1969: 260)⁹⁸

⁹⁷ AHU_ACL_CUC_013, Cx. 127, D. 9773 [1803, Outubro, 27, Pará].

⁹⁸ “Assomão na Cidade dous Principaes dos Sylvicolas Mondrucús seguidos de uns poucos dos seus vassallos. O objecto desta vinda é visitar e conhecer o Governador. Este os recebe com as maneiras próprias da sua admirável urbanidade: ergue-lhes para seu aposento uma casa palhiça com rapidez incrível perto do lado oriental do Palácio de sua residência; nomeia assistente de hospedagem a um Tenente da Tropa regular cognominado Cabeça de Bagre para fazer ministrar sem falência da cozinha de Palácio todos os dias o necessário repasto: e tratá-los de modo que todos achem bom agasalhado e gostosa hospitalidade. E os dois Principais comem a seu lado na

More than 35 Munduruku came to Fortaleza Barra do Rio Negro later on. Lobo d'Almada writes:

After four months they have been gone from here they send, as promised, relatives to talk to us and today we already find thirty five Munduruku people living in the city. From the aggressiveness of other times, I am now waiting for them to happily bring their relatives from the interiors (Reis, 2006: 233)⁹⁹

We do not have enough information to know if the people that went to meet Lobo d'Almada were Munduruku. Here we note that it was the Munduruku themselves who made the decision to bring more of their own people, their relatives, with them. That specific headman came from different places, but under one specific ethnic name, is one more clue to revealing the group dispersal throughout the territory and the way they communicated. Rita Helosia de Almeida while studying the instructions received by the interim governors of the Rio Negro Captancy in the year 1783 noted that they used what she called “canoinhas” as the type of communication they undertook to deceive the distances the Amazon forest possess. News of indigenous rebellion from above or any unannounced movement by the Dutch, Spanish, French or English would have to be passed quickly to the bigger centers already in the Amazon river where the need to send armed troops and how much time this would take would be evaluated. These little canoes, were obviously crewed by Indians. So, while the commanders of the fortress were generally White, the intermediaries who brought them information were Indians. It is not difficult to see now, that almost all the information circulating inside the villages and fortresses in the colonial Amazon was

mesa aonde manifestam notável aptidão em copiar os outros comensais no uso do talher e nos brindes nunca estancando os copos porque assim o viam praticar”

⁹⁹ “Passados quarto meses que daqui tinham sido despedidos me mandaram, como me tinham prometido, outros Parentes seus a tratarem comigo, de sorte que hoje se acham aqui 35 pessoas dos dittos Mondorucus que vinham com a sua costumada braveza dar por esta Capitania, quando encontraram em caminhos os dois sobreditos, que os voltaram e despuseram tão felizmente; continuando os mesmos dois para as Suas Malocas, de onde os estou esperando com mais gente, segundo me informaram estes que vieram”

given by different and sometimes conflicting ethnic groups. The fortress of the *Barra do Rio Negro* would regularly send Indians to communicate with the royal fishing establishments and the villages of Silves, Serpa and Borba (Almeida, 1997: 442). Besides enabling communication; these routes also started to increase the economic life of the riverine amazon. New products began to be sold and brought from one place to the other. Again, the role of indigenous people as protagonists cannot be dismissed. Indigenous forest products started to be gathered in larger quantities and commercialized as spices in the cities of Cuiabá and Belém, as was the case with cacao and now the guaraná.

In 1804, the Conde dos Arcos, ordered the creation of three new missions: Vila Nova da Rainha, Mawés and Canumã, all in the Madeira River. Of course, this decision was not at all absurd. In the last decades of the century, as we have just seen, many new Indians were pacified, so they needed to house all these people somewhere they could immediately be divested of their old habits and learn new ones. In the same year, the Munduruku Indian José Rodrigues Preto wrote a letter boasting that he had taken 400 Munduruku Indians from the woods and established them in the village of Silves, the best point of royal and commercial navigation from the Pará to Mato Grosso by the Madeira river¹⁰⁰.

Preto founded the Mission of Mawé with Luis Pereira da Cruz in the year 1798. It was originally known as Lusea and had around a thousand and a half people including Sapupé, Turucu, Caripia, Munduruku and Parintintim Indians married with whites. The people living in this place subsisted on planting tobacco, manioc gardens and the fabric of the *guaraná*. According to some, the place could have been called *Uaranatuba* or *Uacituba* because of the increase in trading of this product (Monteiro, 1965). According to others, the village of Mawé was almost named after *São Marcos da Mundurucucami* (Mello, 1967: 85)

At the beginning, the Mission did not have an effective religious service, and depended on the reverend João Pedro Pacheco to regularly go from the Macauri Lake there to pray (Sousa, 1848: 425). Later on, the carmelit Frei Joaquim de Santa Luzia was officially nominated the Mawé missionary. Baena mentions that Joaquim de Anvers also helped in bringing Mawé and Munduruku Indians to the Mission (Baena, 1963: 257).

¹⁰⁰ AHU_ACL_CU_013, Cx. 129, D. 9951 – [Ant. 1804, Junho, 15].

Vila Nova da Rainha, what is now the city of Parintins, was created in 1796 and was located in a big island on the right bank of the Amazon river. Its original name was the Mission of Tupinambarana. For Paul Marcoy, the decadent Vila Nova da Rainha began as:

An unpretentious village founded at the beginning of the century by a man called Pedro Cordovil with Munduruku Indians from the Tapajós interiors (Marcoy, 2006 [1869]: 207)¹⁰¹

The carmelit Frei José das Chagas, later the *Anchieta of the Mundurucania* was given responsibility over it. In 1805 the Munduruku pacification was running smoothly as we can read from the archives:

We hope for a satisfactory operation of bringing the Munduruku down to the villages as I have already began doing when I communicated with the headman Roque Antonio de Souza on this year March 27 when he arrived at this mission with one hundred and twelve people and the numbers only promise to increase if I send more and bigger canoes¹⁰²

We can now see that the bringing of whole indigenous nations to the missions could be only possible with the help of some individuals that could be called translators. They were not so much language translators, but world translators. Antonio de Souza and José Rodrigues Preto were two of them. They established the connections between the peace of the recently created missions and the war of the upper rivers. From the end of the 18th century throughout the 19th century then,

¹⁰¹ “Um simples povoado fundado no principio deste século por um certo Pedro Cordovil, um capitão-do-mato que o formou com índios Mundurucus do interior do Tapajós”

¹⁰² “A recente servidão, que professo a Vossa Excelência exige faça huma individual participação do bom sucesso do Descimento do Gentio Mundrucú, a que me propus como já fiz ciente a Vossa Excelência mandando a esta diligencia ao Prinicipal da mesma Nação Roque Antonio de Souza, o qual em o dia vinte sete de Março do presente ano chegou a esta Missão com cento e doze pessoas; cujo numero seria mais avultado se as canoas que mandei fossem maiores , ou mais em número”. See: APEP, Códice 610, Document 137.

Munduruku Indians spread along the mouths of the Canumã, Abacaxis and Maué-Assu rivers. Some of them, however, still lived more freely in the Aripuanã to the west and in the Andirá to the east where they were considered to be savages.

Tomé de França and Miguel João de Castro attest that the Tapajós river, was only given this name because of the confluence of the Juruena with the São Manuel downwards. It was between the São Manuel then, and the Cururu (Bons Signaes) that in 1812 Castro and França met 28 Munduruku Indians, men and women, from the São Manuel. The travelers thought they had somehow already had contact with civilization despite being naked and possessing a poor material culture. The men had completely blackened faces while the women only partly. All of them, however had their ears pierced at the top (Castro e França: 1812: 127). Descending the river for 2 more days they mention reaching a waterfall called *Sem Cannaes* and then reaching the Crepori river where they found more Munduruku Indians. After passing S. João and S. Carlos waterfalls, Castro and França mention a *varadouro* when descending the Arinos-Tapajós, in 1812, just below the *Salto Augusto* to reach the *Tocarizal* waterfall, near the *Serra Morena*. After that point they found the Santa Eduvigis das Furnas waterfall. Passing some smaller rapids they got to the Ondas Grandes and then S. Lucas Evangelista, S. Gabriel and S. Raphael waterfalls. Transposing these obstacles came a waterfall they named after Santa Iria das Tres Quedas¹⁰³ and through the *canal do inferno* it was possible to reach Santa Ursula and Misericórdia.

Two falls and nine big waterfalls forced the crew to totally unload the canoes. In passing two of them – S. Florencio and Canal do Inferno – it is necessary to drag through land. Eleven waterfalls are tolerable with half load and two other natural stretches obstruct navigation of the Tapajós river (D'Allincourt, 1828: 153)¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Santo Iria – canoas descarregadas e a sirga; cargas por terra e ao ombro. Dáqui para baixo já aparece a planar guaraná (Ferreira Pena, 1869: 157).

¹⁰⁴ “Dous Saltos, nove cachoeiras grandes onde hé mister descarregar totalmente as canoas, sendo até estas varadas por terra, em duas das mesmas cachoeiras chamadas S. Florencio e Canal do Inferno; onze cachoeiras, que se vencem a meia carga, e dous compridos baixios; são os obstáculos naturais, que a arte não tem desvanecido, e que dificultam a navegação do Tapajoz”

After passing the S. Florencio and Labirinto waterfalls they arrived at S. Simão de Gibraltar,

A place in which the river is tight in between two hills. After good examination the passage from the left by river or by land was verified to be impossible. That is why we had to use the passage besides an island to the East¹⁰⁵

They crossed the *Todos os Santos* waterfall reaching the São Tomé and S. Martinho rivers. Barbosa Rodrigues remembers that in the past, navigation was done by the São Tomé river, but because of its many waterfalls and especially the *Bidaprapes* Indians, also known as *barbados* who sporadically inhabit the area, the route was abandoned (Barbosa Rodrigues, 1875: 119).

Javaim is the name of a river at the right margin of the Tapajós, in which Castro e França passed on the November 14th 1812, just after the Feixos waterfall, today Jamanchim (Menendez, 1992: 284)¹⁰⁶. They also describe geographical accidents not mentioned in this first map, like the Pacoval waterfalls, Freicheiras channel, Maranhão waterfall and Tracoá rapids:

We departed on the fourteenth early in the morning with good navigation. At eight we passed on our right-hand side, the mouth of an abundant river called Jaguaim by the natives. At ten in the morning we crossed two other waterfalls not distant one from another. At two o'clock in the afternoon we faced difficult currents in the channels and have navigated through out a waterfall leading us to another wich promised to be the biggest one. We continue to

¹⁰⁵ “Um lugar em que se acha o rio apertado entre duas serras: embicou-se pela parte esquerda, e especulada a passagem, depois de trabalhosas indagações, se observou ser impraticável a passagem, assim por agua como por terra, e por isso voltou-se a tomar pelo braço de uma ilha ao lado oriental”. See: “Abertura de Comunicação Commercial entre o Districto de Cuyabá e a Cidade do Pará por meio da navegação dos rios Arinos e Tapajós...” 1812. RIHGB.

¹⁰⁶ Acreditamos que o nome “Jamanxim” pode ser uma corruptela derivada do etnônimo Javain” (Alarcon et al, 2016: 405)

travel only on the fifteenth at eight because of the rains. At the time we passed another abundant channel and all the canoes had to be unloaded. At three in the afternoon we realize it was impossible to follow and so by a complex operation we manage to transpose the waterfalls the natives call Pacoval (Castro e França, 1868: 130)¹⁰⁷

Already in 1820, the Martius Expedition was unable to enter the Rio Negro Province because of rumors of a bexiga epidemic in the Madeira, and was itself bringing or feeling its effects. Martius inseparable partner Spix was ill and coming in a slow pace in a bigger boat behind him. Martius, however, could not stand to wait and went running ahead in a smaller *montaria*. The image of going ahead here resembles the colonial demarcation expeditions where Portuguese soldiers and settled Indians together with some headman usually go ahead of the arrival of the main expedition to recruit a guide among the autonomous native groups of the upper river tributaries (Roller, 2012: 116). Robert H. Scomburgk and William Hillhouse deleted passages from published accounts in British Guiana show the critical role played by his Wapixana guides who had been sent out by the advance party to show them the way, which became rather intricate (Burnett, 2002: 31). During the 19th century travelers needed, more than ever, to know the navigational conditions of Amazonian riverscape and, for that matter, usually relied on long-term collaboration with Indian guides, paddlers, bowman and pilots. The mission priests had, however, arrived ahead and travelers inevitably engage in these relations. This in turn, would also define how much time they could spend in that place. Spix and Martius stayed only five days in Canumá

¹⁰⁷ “Partimos no dia 14 as 5 da manhã com boa navegação; as 8 passamos a barra de um caudaloso rio a que os naturais chamam Jaguaim, e desaba na margem direita. As 10 passamos duas pequenas cachoeiras com pouca distância uma da outra. As 2 da tarde entramos em outras muito compridas com vários cordões, e alguns caudalosos boqueirões, e sempre se acharam bons canais, e toda a tarde navegamos por uma continuada cachoeira, e fizemos pouso na testa de outra, que indicava ser maior que as antecedentes. Seguimos viagem no dia 15 as 8 e meia por causa de chuvas, logo passamos a canal um caudaloso cordão de cachoeiras, e pouco abaixo foi preciso descarregar e sirgar em outro maior, As 3 da tarde partimos e por ser impraticável a descida pelo lado esquerdo, que temos seguido, atravessamos para o direito por entre diversos cordões, e por cima de um assaz furioso, pousamos. A estas referidas cachoeiras chamam os naturais, do Pacoval”

and specially noticed the presence of the army forces to contain the Indians and fiscalize canoes in transit. They mentioned frequent visits of the travelers, always accompanied by small military groups, going to two main villages in the Madeira river:

Munduruku and Mawé live in the Canumá and Mawé ran by two missionaries who manifest great disposition with the traders (Spix e Martius: 125)¹⁰⁸

The authors convey a very calm picture of the Canumã Mission. From the descriptions of Martius, the place seemed economically active at the beginning of the 19th century. The Munduruku are now compared with their Apiaká neighbors as the experts in producing feather works. They ingenuously produce hammocks transforming the cotton they sometimes cultivate. They produce hunting weapons and adorn their faces with a blue semi-elliptic blur and parallel lines running throughout the body in a lozenge or diamond shape. Their ears were pierced on top. Martius refers to the *Porto dos Munduruku* as the last point to which navigation traders would go from the lower Canumã to exchange salsaparilla and carnation, from where one can get into the Tapajós in about three days walking (Spix e Martius, s.d III: 307).

At the time Spix and Martius traveled, the Munduruku were spreading again between the ancient Jesuit missions of Santa Cruz, Boim and Pinhel and all the way to the Mato Grosso, as a letter from the governor of the province made clear when he says he was waiting for the *muruxau* Munduruku to come from the Amazonas river in the near future¹⁰⁹. *Muruxau* was the king or the emperor of this specific group of Indians, and they should not be confused as representing the whole group. The idea that parts and wholes exist is completely arbitrary and at the time, the Indians could have been operating with a completely different logic (Strathern, 1992).

In 1819, Father Antonio Jeuínio Gonçalves lived at the Canumã Mission with around 100 Munduruku. He had replaced Father José Alves das Chagas, the founder of the Mission, in 1811. At this time it was part of the great Mawé mission of *Uasituba*

¹⁰⁸ “Canumá and Mawé, cujos habitantes, mundurucus e mawés, são dirigidos por dois missionários, e, na verdade, demonstram amáveis disposições para com os comerciantes que os procuram”

¹⁰⁹ CT-AHU-ACL-CU-010, Cx. 44, Doc. 2209 [1820, Dezembro, 12].

(Hemming, 282)¹¹⁰. Martius left the Canumã Mission in March 25th, 1820 going to Mawés¹¹¹. He was staying at Vila Nova da Rainha, the most western village of the Rio Negro Province. Aires de Casal describes Vila Nova as lying at the mouth of the Mawês River where “quase todos os seus habitantes são índios Mawês, os melhores mestres na composição do guaraná” (Casal, 1976 [1817]: 326). At the time of the Martius expedition the guaraná was made up into figures of birds, alligators, and other animals.

Martius felt that village life and industrious activity was due to the proximity of the great Munduruku and Mawés nations¹¹². At the time of Martius’ expedition commerce was fully active between the upper and lower Tapajós, and he mentions the trading with Santarém of cacao, salsaparilla, cravos-do-Maranhão together with Munduruku and Apiaká feather adornments. Martius describes the Mawé as exchanging products with the Munduruku and the civilized people from Santarém and Óbidos:

So we have found a Mawé headman in the Tapajós river wanting to barter red wood bows and guaraná paste for Munduruku feather ornaments (Martius, 1982: 37)¹¹³

Martius believed that at the end of the 18th century while at war with the Mura, a group of more than 2000 strong Munduruku men crossed the Xingu towards the Tocantins river waging a devastating war, and were only defeated by the warlike

¹¹⁰ Spix and Martius (1823-31) gives the number of a thousand people living either in Santa Cruz, Boim, Pinhel, Canumã, Juruti and 1600 warrior Indians living at Ixituba (1310).

¹¹¹ A Missão de Mawés fica ereta em Vila com a denominação de Luzia (suprimido o título da Missão) compreendendo em seu Termo a mesma denominação de Borba, que deve ser substituída pela de Araretama e as Freguesias de Vila Nova da Rainha, que perde esta denominação ficando com a de Topinambaranas e á, suprimido em ambas o título de Missão e tendo por limites o Parintins e o rio Madeira inclusive” (BAENA, 2004: 425 “Divisão das Comarcas e Termos da Província do PARÁ feita em cumprimento do Artigo 3 do Código do Processo Criminal pelo Governo em Conselho nas Sessões Ordinárias de 10 a 17 de maio de 1833”).

¹¹² A murder, around the year of 1769, obliged Fernando da Costa de Ataíde Teive, the governor of Pará at the time, to prohibit commerce with them (Ribeiro de Sampaio, 1774-5: 6).

¹¹³ “Assim encontramos no rio Tapajós um chefe dos Mawé que queria barganhar arcos de madeira vermelha e pasta de guaraná para bebida contra ornamentos de penas dos Munduruku”

Apinajé (Martius, 1867: 394). Stories were also recorded by Bates (1876: 244) who wrote that, in their former wars, they exterminated two of the neighbouring people the Júma and the Jacaré. In the middle of the 19th century Araújo e Amazonas mention Munduruku waging war against the Apiaká of the Salto Augusto (Araujo e Amazonas, 1852: 206).

The Munduruku Indians filled the 19th century imagination. The first Munduruku Martius encountered in *Novo Monte Carmel*, in the Canumã Mission, were stocky and athletic because of the selected diet they consumed. They were possibly the most tattooed Indians of all South-America (Martius, 1867: 387). They hid the mummified heads of their enemies under the floor of their huts. They also had big animal heads hanging from the poles. Their name, Martius believed, was derived from a semantic meaning of 'stealing', 'capturing' and 'headhunting'¹¹⁴. After the Cabanagem they started to be called the *MõnJOROKO*, or, the headhunters, by the Pará local population (Parreira, 2006: 90). The linguist Dionei Gomes confirms this information after collecting a Munduruku narrative which explained that Munduruku was a name given by their traditional enemies (Dionei, 2006).

The best example for Martius was to see slave children among the Munduruku that could not paint their bodies. They confirm the idea that this society was composed of prisoners of war taken from other ethnic groups, but raised inside Munduruku families, though not acquiring Munduruku habits and thereby creating some sort of hierarchy inside the community, in which they were second class citizens. For him, the Amazonas warrior women could only possibly be the Munduruku women who accompanied their husbands at war supplying them with arrows to shoot and helping to deviate enemy arrows (Spix e Martius, 146). Their intricate military organization required the commander to stay behind the troops where he gave instructions with special large horns similar to Eustachian tubes called the *toré* (beni), used also by patrols guarding the mens-house and the *kiohoa*, a whistle played by the leader, while two of his assistants played horns of different sizes that echoed simultaneously. They attacked only during the day, and for the same reason, were attacked by the belligerent Arara at night.

¹¹⁴ This correlation is also found in Borneo in relation to the Malay expression *penyamun* associated with the numerous Iban people living to the South, but also to extra-human qualities related to the uncontrollable world outside the community (Metcalf, 1996: 281)

The warrior Munduruku have the obligation –by a ritual that involves doing a trace on a piece of wood that circulate from helmet to helmet send by the chief- to participate in the expedition and cannot withdraw from this symbolic commitment (Martius, 1938: 86)¹¹⁵. According to Martius, it was at the time of the Munduruku pacification that they waged the last war expeditions against the Mura, the Apiaká and the Parintintim¹¹⁶. As he says:

Consequently, they turned against the already mentioned Parinrinrins, Parinrins (Parárauats or Uauvrivait) (Martius, 1867: 395)¹¹⁷

In almost all parts of Amazonia the month of September marks the transition between the dry and the rainy seasons. At this time the Munduruku were already finishing their annual war and hunting expeditions before the winter rains made rivers impassable and life uncomfortable (Murphy, 1958: 53). As we now can see, Munduruku Indians moved in the opposite direction to the colonization expeditions. While the whites much prefer to use the rains to help them navigate the rivers, the Indians used the ebb tide to walk all over the land.

In war they had a complex military constitution where the commandant stayed behind the troops giving orders by the use of big horns. Apparently, the women also participated side by side with the chiefs offering them arrows to shoot. Murphy also mentions that the Munduruku recruited warriors from all over the villages they knew. The warrior chiefs were chosen from among the most experienced warriors, and pertained to a secret society called *muchachá anyen* which, in turn, was itself advised by the village chiefs. Members of this society were composed by old and valiant *dajeboiši* who had mastered great knowledge of lore and songs, sounded the *pem*, a

¹¹⁵ “Os guerreiros Mundurucús obrigam-se, a expedição por meio de um risco que gravam num pedaço de madeira enviado pelo chefe, de cabana em cabana, e ninguém, que por esta forma declarou-se pronto a seguir, é capaz de subtrair-se a este compromisso simbólico”

¹¹⁶ “O segundo nome – caso se trate de uma palavra mundurukú – foi sem dúvida mal notado (- vr -!) e não lhe conheço a significação” (Nimuendaju, 1925: 207)

¹¹⁷ “Dann wendeten sie sich gegen die schon erwähnten Parentintims, Parintins (Parärauates oder Uauvrivait)”

musical instrument used only by them (Murphy, 1958: 57). They stored the famous *pem* warrior trumpet, whose function was to signal the moment of attacking the enemy (Murphy and Murphy, 1954: 8). Furthermore, the *muchacha anyen* was divided into two other groups, the men's society called *biu ši anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir) and the *darek ši anyen* (Mothers of the Arrow), a society in which all Munduruku warriors belonged (Murphy, 1978 [1960]: 128). Updating Murphy's book, the Munduruku themselves decided to write their own stories, in one of them, Floriano Tawe writes that:

The old men knew how to do the pēm. They took the pēm when they walked in Kayapó lands. The only opportunity they could blow the pēm was when they were on enemy lands (Kayapó). This is how I show they play: pe pe pe pe pe pe peeeeeeee pe pe pe pe pe pe peeeeeeee (Tawe et al., 1977: 193)¹¹⁸

The idea of a hydrographic labyrinth is not at all irrelevant. The multitude of channels and lakes, with their association between groups and place names, must have confused the colonizers. The Codajás Lake, for instance connects innumerable other lakes as the *Anaman* by the *Unucú* river some miles up called *Anaman* river, which in turn joins with *Manacapurú*. According to Nunes Pereira the Mawé also walked all around the region, inevitably meeting the Munduruku:

They are great walkers, surpassing with incredible resistance and velocity the greatest distances. They went from the Araticum village in the upper Andirá, to the Tapajós in only six days. They go from the centre of the forest to the margins of the Ramos crossing the Andirá highlands or make other incredible journeys in just a few days (Pereira, 1942: 16)¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ “Os velhos sabiam fazer a pēm. Eles levaram o “pēm” quando andavam na terra dos Kayapós. Só quando estavam em terra dos inimigos (Kayapós) é que tocaram a “pēm”. Assim eles tocam: pe pe pe pe pe pe peeeeeeee pe pe pe pe pe pe peeeeeeee”

¹¹⁹ “São grandes andarilhos, vencendo, com incrível resistência e velocidade, as maiores distâncias. Iam, do Alto Andirá, do aldeamento do Araticum as margens do Tapajós, em seis dias. Do centro para a margem do Ramos, por cima das terras altas do Andirá, fazem travessias assombrosas, em poucos dias”

The *Araticum* (or Arapiuns) was an ancient Mawé village that, together with *Terra Preta* and *Marau Velho* formed the other villages we now see at the margins of the Manjuru, Urupadi, Miriti, Marau, Uaicurapá and Andirá. Nunes Pereira also mentions the ancient village of *Torrado* at the Andirá headwaters (Pereira, 2003: 24). The original villages of the upper Andirá completely disappeared around 1920 (Teixeira, 2005: 23)

Exploring the Paranatinga in 1819 Antonio Peixoto de Azevedo noticed plenty of canoes near the Ilha-Grande waterfall together with two *pari* Indian devices to catch fish. The same type of canoes continued to be parked up from the mouth of the *Parado* river but were not found lower down where he discovered traces of wild Indians. According to Peixoto de Azevedo:

The Munduruku accompanying me guaranteed the canoes belong to their relatives living in the Tapajós savannah who were used to come fight the indians we just left behind called by them the Paribitátá (Azevedo, 1885: [1819]: 35)¹²⁰

It was the Munduruku then, who changed the cartographic knowledge the Cuiabá Chamber had of the Mato Grosso since its first governor Antonio Rolim de Moura; allowing Barão de Melgaço to say, many years later, based on the explorations of William Chandless, that the Paranatinga river was an affluent of the Tapajós, not from the Xingu (Leverger, 1865: 137). Chandless mentions crossing the *Agoa-Pona* river¹²¹, just below the São Manuel, known as Paranatinga (Ferreira Penna, 1869)¹²², where in a five-day journey and two more by land it was possible to reach the

¹²⁰ “os índios Mandurucús, que me acompanhavam, certificaram-me serem as ditas canoas dos seus parentes habitantes na campina do rio Tapajós, os quais tinham de costume vir conquistar os índios, que deixamos atrás, denominados pelos ditos Mandurucús – gentios Paribi-tatá”

¹²¹ For Barbosa Rodrigues after passing the *Agua Pona*, a possible route to the Munduruku lands, and the *Pesqueiro* rivers, two other Munduruku villages stand at both margins of the Tapajós: on the *iri* river at the right margin and the *Jacareacanga* river on the left margin (Barbosa Rodrigues, 119). The Capoeiras begin just after there (Stromer).

¹²² Peixoto de Azevedo believed the Paranatinga at the high of the Ilha Grande waterfall was a point of ethnic division recognized by the fabrication of canoes

Munduruku villages of the Campinas and buy provisions (Chandless, 1862: 275). People in this village were tattooed, just like the ones from the Canumã. Ten years later Ernest Morris would also describe great Munduruku population density at the upper Tapajós. He first observed five Munduruku villages at the mouth of the Tropas river working on rubber extraction. He then describes a large settlement of a hundred people living in one maloca, but in which all the able bodied men were in the forest gathering rubber. He was frustrated at not having been able to find men for his crew and proceeded upriver crossing the mouth of the Cabitutu and Cadiriri rivers at all times following ancient Munduruku clearings when he then arrived at another Munduruku settlement, this time with 75 people living. Finally, after another day and a half, with the help of his interpreter, the little Indian boy named Santo, he arrived at the largest maloca he had yet seen inhabited by 150 Munduruku Indians. Not satisfied with the long journey, with great difficulty he crossed the Chacorão waterfalls until he reached a village populated by fifty people, represented by the chief Antonique (1884).

A little later, Orville Derby consulted Chandless' notes when collecting information on descending the Tapajós¹²³ and told his personal and professional friend, in charge of the geological commission of the empire, Charles F. Hartt that from Itaituba to Aveiros his Munduruku guide had a singular stripe drawn from one ear to the other crossing the superior lip of his mouth (Hartt, 1885: 122).

The waterfalls are fascinating for all kind of scientists, especially the geologists and zoologists. Shells liked to live in muddy and sandy places while sponges and large ray fish grew on the rocky shores. The rocks formed canals that sometimes conformed large islands in the middle of the river and sometimes small carboniferous or alluvial rocky islands.

Because the Munduruku originally built their villages in places several hours inland from the nearest navigable streams, it is possible that they only recently adopted dugout canoes for food and transportation. According to anthropologist Robert Murphy, in pre-contact times, the Munduruku learned with their Apiaká neighbours the use of the bark canoe used, by them, to cross large streams when on a war expedition (Murphy, 1954: 21). Bark canoes were easier to be made than wood canoes and were enough for the needs of the Indians living in the upper river courses.

¹²³ Derby, Orville A. "Carta a João Capistrano de Abreu, pedindo-lhe um resumo de documentos de Chandless em que trata do Salto Augusto". 04/09/1898. Manuscritos – I-01,10,052. Biblioteca Nacional.

Baiakairi and Aweti Indians made extensive use of Jatobá bark canoes (Steinen, 1894: 235). For Father Albert Kruse, “the Xingu Munduruku are also called by the Tapajós Munduruku by the name *Tyurari-riwat*, ‘Tauarirana tribe or clan’, as they make their loin, arm and ankle bands out of taurarirana bark” (Kruse, 1934: 53). The Tauari mother *Tiwapakuatpë*, after drinking porridge of chestnuts and manicoera, taught the *Uytu* and his people how to make bark canoes (Kruse, 1946-9: 617). In Murphy’s version it was *Ouitonšeše* that had to feed the people at the bottom of the river so as they would be transformed in trees with the inambu chorona (Inhambu-chororó?) and paiaba (Murphy, 1958: 92). Tauari is a material object used to hold things, as well as adorning and disguising people. Munduruku hammocks, for example, were made out of tauarirana (Kruse, 1946-9)

The objects collected by Naterer when passing through Cuiabá, between 1824-25 were given to him by the military Antonio Peixoto de Azevedo (Kapfhammer, 2013) in his visit with the Munduruku from the Paranatinga river around the second decade of the 19th century. Naterer believed they adorned¹²⁴ an instrument called the horn of the *Uauirivait*, which they used to imitate the roar of the jaguar, captured by the Munduruku, and with which the Munduruku were in a constant state of war (Schlothauer, 2014: 15). At the Viena (Welt) Museum catalogue they showed a horn-flute coming from the Tapajós river collected by Naterer in which these Indians imitate the voice of the jaguar. It consists of a larger, ovoid pumpkin, with a hole at both ends. In one of the holes is inserted a short, thick tube with a lateral blow-hole near the rear end. It carries a wreath of long bast fibers, and a second of black, brownish, green, and red feathers at the bottom of the gourd¹²⁵.

¹²⁴ Schlothauer points out that the Munduruku worked basically with five types of colour: the red feathers are from the *Arara macao* or *chloroptera*, the black feathers are from the mutum (*Crax sp.*), the blue colours are from the *Arara ararauna*, the yellow from the (*Psarocolius sp.*, *Ramphastos sp.*) and the yellowish-orange feathers are the product of a tapiragem process of the one type of macaw; the *ararauna*, *macao* or *chloroptera*. Besides that can also find white and brown stripped feathers originally from rapina birds. See also PELZELN, August von. “Zur Ornithologie brasiliens resultante von Johann Natterers reisen in den Jahren 1817-1835”.

¹²⁵ Inv.Nr. 1.187. Blashorn. Uauirivait (Munduruku, Tapajós-Madeira\Brasilien)

This instrument could be that identified by the name *parasoi* by the anthropologist Robert Murphy. The *parasoi* instruments are also horns but made of a hollow bamboo tube associated with the jaguar chant, or in other words used to emulate the roar of the jaguar, “the eponymous name of one of the spirit companions of the trumpets of Cabruá” (Murphy, 1958: 64). The jaguar, in Munduruku mythology, mainly appears in a *Yurichumpö* story. In the following myth, we can see that the sorcery idiom is not alien to indigenous cultures of the upper Tapajós. In fact, it is significant to us here because it is one of the factors of migration to the lower parts of the river.

This is exemplified, more recently, by the interviews of Rita Heloisa de Almeida with Munduruku from the Sai Cinza about the consecutive migrations of families held to the Itaituba region and also Pimental and São Luis. Most migrations took place during the rubber boom and the Munduruku below the waterfalls traced their descent mainly from the villages of Dekodjem¹²⁶ and Maracati. This kind of exile:

They told us with caution but clearly that, in some cases, individuals were accused of sorcery and ran away, getting rid of a collective condemnation which inevitably would lead to death. They went downriver going to live at the margins of the médium and lower Tapajós (fl. 227)¹²⁷

Mura Peace Reduction (1784-86)

Published letters between military ex-governors of Pará and Amazonas – João Pereira Caldas and João Baptista Mardel- indicate the period of negotiation about the pacification or *redução* of the *Mura* Indians, an expression that could also be interpreted as a *redução indígena* in a general sense:

¹²⁶ According to Kruse Dekodjem means “the Coatá-Monkeys moved out”

¹²⁷ “Eles disseram com recato, embora com muita franqueza, que, em alguns casos, foram indivíduos acusados de feitiçaria que fugiram, livrando-se de uma condenação coletiva que inevitavelmente os levaria a morte, conseguindo escapar tomando o rumo a descida do rio e dos povoados ribeirinhos do médio e baixo Tapajós”

The empire of these miserables is composed by many different languages and a lot of refugees among them. Different people live under the name of the Mura (CEDEAM, 1984)¹²⁸

Attacks on the Madeira were reported by d' Almada, governor of Rio Negro. It was during his government that the pacification of the Paravianas, Uapixanas took place. Attacks on the Tocantins were reported by Francisco de Souza Coutinho, governor of Pará. In the anonymous document presented by Moreira Neto concerning the Mura, it is suggested that it was they, rather than the Munduruku, who attacked the village of Obidos and other places after Joao de Sousa Azevedo's troops massacred them, or part of them:

Despite the effort thousands of soldiers have done nothing in face of them. On the contrary, the Mura were the ones who massacred them all. After that episode, they have adopted another fighting system: they now attack as guerrillas, which is disastrous for us for many years in the villages of Obidos, Sives, Serpa, Borba, Ega, Moura and even the capital Barcellos and also at Barra, Alvellos, Nogueira, Alvarans, Fonte-Boa, Imaripi, Airão, Carvoeiro, and Poiares (Moreira Neto, 1988: 250)¹²⁹

Apparently the discourse of *gentio do corso* that used the guerrilla mode of attack gave way to an image of a bigger and more organized group of Indians called Munduruku. The Peace Treaty with the Mura was only possible through the presence of the Munduruku Indians. By the year 1786 we hear that the Mura were already in the Madeira river. In the middle of June, the Borba military commandeer Antonio

¹²⁸ “O império destes miseráveis é composto de muitos de diferente língua e muitos refugiados entre eles, e apanhado das povoações, todos passando debaixo do nome de mura”

¹²⁹ “Apesar do esforço de milhares de combatentes nada fizeram, antes fez neles, com os bacamartes, e arcabuzes de que ia munido, horrorosa mortandade que os escarmentou. Depois desta época adoptarão novo systema de combater, e atacar-nos por guerrilhas: tática desastrosa, que pesou muitos anos sobre as Villas de Obidos, Sives, Serpa, Borba, Ega, Moura, até a capital de Barcellos; e sobre os lugares da Barra, Alvellos, Nogueira, Alvarans, Fonte-Boa, Imaripi, Airão, Carvoeiro, e Poiares”

Carlos da Fonseca Coutinho reports the arrival of chiefs of the Mura, Erury and Jarauary ethnic groups after Munduruku had chased and killed their groups near the mouth of the Autaz (Guatazes). At the beginning of July, João Baptista Mardel writes from Barcelos attesting that the Mura were actually from the Codajás and Paricá rivers:

They do not have friendship with the other groups of Mura and didn't now Ambrozio, foreman of the Amaná, not even the Mamiá headman. And that the Manacapurú Mura were their enemies and also that the Mura were not at the Piurini (CEDEAM, 1984: 77)¹³⁰

In March 1784, Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira wrote from Belém to Martinho de Souza e Albuquerque asking for permission to apply repressive measures against the Munduruku Indians in the Xingu and Tapajós rivers:

From the beginning peace was made but the Indians never accepted it. They continued to attempt against your Royal Majesty's liberties and avoided captivity. The order was to treat the Indians well to pacify them, bring them to the larger villages, convert them into Christians (...) With that I don't necessarily say that each particular must take arms to fight the Mura, Munduruku and Apinajé or that His Majesty should offer slaves and guns to imprisonment them. This war would be endless. Everyone could be thought of as an enemy with visible prejudice for the already tamed Indians, regressing such as in the old days (Ferreira, 1887[1787]: 72-74)¹³¹

¹³⁰ "Que não tinham camaradagem com os outros Muras, e que não conheciam o Ambrozio, capataz do Amaná, nem o principal do Mamiá, e que os Mura de Manacapurú eram seus contrários; e também que no Piurini não estavam Muras"

¹³¹ "Desde o principio se cometeram as pazes ao gentio, mas elle nunca as aceitou. Desarmou Sua Magestade por uma vez as machinações contra a liberdade; correo o vêo aos pretextos, com que a avareza rebufava as pretensões de cativo; propos da sua parte motivos mais sólidos e urgentes, para a correspondência mutual do que eram os resgates; ordenou, que pelos meios da brandura se emprendessem para o diante os descimentos; e tudo isso para que fim? Para que de seu motu próprio, e de

The peace treaty between the Munduruku and the Portuguese would commit the Munduruku to work for the Portuguese against the Muras. According to Martius, the Muras were in a constant state of war with the Munduruku, Catauixi and Mawé, their declared enemies. They were allies of the Torá, though. With the Mura persecution, however, part of the group escaped to the upper Madeira while the other part were dispersed in little pockets in the main river practising petty thefts and probably agreeing terms with the stronger Munduruku. For the Portuguese the war strategy was clear; drawing out the Munduruku and fomenting war between the various indigenous groups was the only solution for concealing the Mura protagonism and opening free space to colonization.

Exploration meant a geographical redirection to distant places, finding a way, by following the river path navigating the memory of the ancestors. It was a familiar practice of doing things, but also in places “where the networks of power are unreachable” (Martins, 1984: 192) and so, alone in this enterprise, needing to obtain the help of the people who lived there, a place with its own territoriality, in which different ethnic groups with an elaborate culture lived and interrelated in a manner totally alien for him. The task of exploration was also approached in the intrepid spirit of heroic adventure, as we shall see further on, by Franciscan Father Hugo Mense and his followers on the Cururu Mission. That is, to penetrate a place never before explored by whites and to get to know Indians, they believed, that had never before been touched by civilization. But they were not alone. There were people already living there, who acted as guides, and whose knowledge was recognized later by those who used them.

sua muito livre vontade, descesse o gentio do sertão a incorporar-se com os índios aldeados, e nas aldeias, primeiro que tudo, abrisse os ouvidos ao Evangelho (...) Não quero dizer com isto que no intuito de repellar com Guerra as lesões, que nos fazem os Mura, o Mondurucú, e o Apinajá, fique a cada particular o direito, ou lh’o conceda Sua Magestade de com escravos, armas e despesas suas levar a Guerra aos inimigos, para que, com a venda dos que cativar, se embolse das despesas que fizer em benefício publico, Guerra seria esta, que nunca mais havia de acabar: todos geralmente seriam reputados inimigos, com prejuízo transcendente a liberdade dos mansos; ficariam os índios, para o dizer de uma vez, no mesmo estado do cativo antigo “

The Tapajós river was not always seen by the same referent. Sometimes we read the Tapajós as the same as the Juruena and more frequently that it is only the name given to the section from the mouth of the Arinos. We can see, however, that the Tapajós' name was used to nominate two different river parts along history: one from where the Juruena-Arinos encounter and the other all the way from where the Juruena originates, close to the Paraguai river headwaters making it difficult to distinguish the time spent traversing the extension of the whole river. What we are trying to say is that the time spent going from the headwaters to the mouth of the Tapajós was dependent on many factors like the perception the explorer had of the environment and its responses, and the routes chosen by him in this adventure. Provinces of Indians, in the eyes of outsiders, were cluttered with mountains, waterfalls and rivers delimitating cultural frontiers. They were borders arbitrarily chosen by the interpreter, probably related to his own ethnic group and personal history in the region with the others around him. It is the juxtaposition of this informed description with the abilities of the engineer to draw a map that resulted in the creation of a colonization space. It is a space with many fractures however, because the description does not necessarily always correlate with the drawing. Amazonian landscape is always richer than we can possibly realise because seasoned inhabitants make their way through a world-information rather than across its performed surface. We make the effort to look at waterfalls and rivers as they can be understood from the inhabitant's point of view; as comings and goings along paths of movement. In short, the places described in this thesis are not place-bound, but instead place-binding (Ingold, 2008: 1808).

The Munduruku from the Lower Tapajós in the Cabanagem

When flour supply began to run low, the village Indians ran away again to the forest. This made it difficult to count how many Indians were living in each locality, and how many decided to stay in their home villages.

Just before the Cabanagem eclosion, the Vigário Geral do Baixo Amazonas, Raymundo Antonio Fernandes wrote to the Barão de Bagé, in Santarém, describing

his travels to the churches under his domain. We can see the situation of the Indians mainly through the influence of the Munduruku principal named Roque.

I wished to know the number of still savage Munduruku because from their apparent infinity I only managed to congregate four hundred at the Santa Cruz Mission; three hundred and something at Curí; five hundred at Uxituba and two hundred in Itaituba, the place of the Mawé. I wanted to persuade the headman with presents but from the beginning this was not well received. When they accepted they immediately went back to bring more of his relatives. At this time I discovered that not a few, but an expressive number of Munduruku were already in the process of going down river to the villages and that if they started to deliberately promote it, two thousand more will come¹³²

Since Mura pacification, at the end of the 18th century, Munduruku dispersal was growing in the Madeira as it was in the Tapajós where many of them participated in the Cabanagem Revolt¹³³. It was this political movement that contributed to the separatist movement between the Comarca do Amazonas and Grão Pará. Rebels spread near the *Ixituba* mission and all over the rivers Aicurapá, Andirá, Maué-Assú, Arapadi and Preto under the main leadership of the chief Gonçalves. They used the

¹³² “Desejei saber o número que ainda havia de Mundurucús, e apenas pude reunir na Missão de Santa Cruz, onde havia um número quase infinito, quatrocentas e tantas almas, em Curí trezentas e tantas, em Uxituba quinhentas, e em Itaituba, lugar dos Maq[g]ués vem duzentas, Procurei persuadir o referido Principal com affagos fui não merecia [...] com que aqueles se recolhessem às Missões, conseguindo vencelo prometeo que os ia buscar, soube então [...] deste como de outros muitos, que huma não pequena porção [...] de Mundurucús nas suas Terras seguindo o movimento de descenderem, e me afirmarão igualmente que promovendo o descimento este excederia a dois mil; nesta consideração [finquei] a proposta ciente a V.Exa. do que tenho referido”. See: APEP Codice 854; D. 43.

¹³³ The Munduruku were known among the Mura by the term *Paitisi* or *Patisi* (Nimuendaju, 1932, Kruse, 1934). Müller makes two valuable clarification for us: He says, first that the Mura were also called *Buxura'en* (Müller, 1995: 38). According to Gama Malcher, the Munduruku know of a group living in the headwaters of the Sucundury and Bararaty they name Aipo-sissi or Taipe-chichi (Malcher, 100). According to Frikel, the Munduruku have the expression “taipa chichign” or only “taipa chign” meaning to burn the coivara (encoivarar) (Frikel, 1959: 30).

paths in the forest to hide from the authorities and missionaries, as we see in the following letter extracted from APEP and written in 1840 in the village of Luzéa (Maués) by Joaquim Jozé Luis de Souza, army commander of the Amazonas troops:

On the Aicurapá river there are two resistance points. Commanded by Severino, the first one was composed by heathens and Munduruku Indians while the other had only *gente ladina*, and is commanded by Constantino Lopes. From there to Gonçalo one can take up to twenty days. The same distance from Gonçalo, at the Andirá other mix-race insurgents are commanded by Brasil, inhabitant of Via Nova. On the direction of the Maué-Assu and Parananurÿ de Luséa, another resistance is commanded by Ventura, inhabitant of Saracá. On the Arapadi river some others resist under the leadership of Gonçalo. There is another focus on the Apocuitá commanded by the chief Jozé. One of them says that to completely annihilate the rebels a military force of two hundred men is necessary at the Preto and Arapadÿ river; one hundred on te Aicurapá and Maué-Assu and fifty at the Andirá¹³⁴

In 1837 a letter from the military commander of the village of Santarém Lourenço Justiniano da Serra Freire relates his efforts of protecting the village from the

¹³⁴ “No Rio Aicurapá existem dois pontos, hum Comandado por Severino de Gentios, e Mundurucús, e outro de gente ladina Comandado por Constantino Lopes destes pontos ao de Gonçalo pode-se gastar 20 dias. No Anderá existe outro ponto de gente misturada Comandado por Brasil, morador de Villa Nova, dista a mesma distancia a Gonçalo. Nos Maués assú e Parananurÿ de Luséa existe hum ponto Comandado por Ventura, morador de Saracá, deste a Gonçalo pode-se gastar iguais dias pouco mais ou menos, no Rio Arapadi existe outro ponto debaixo das vistas do Comandante geral Gonçalo: diz hum dos apresentados, q. para se dar cabo dos rebeldes, he preciso hua força pelo Rio Preto de 200 homens; pelo Aicurapá 100 = pelo Anderá 50 = por Maués assú 100 = e pelo Arapadÿ 200, para de hua vez debandar estes Salteadores: existe outro ponto no Apocuitá Commandado pelo Tuxaua Jozé”. And also: “dizem que existe no rio Preto o ponto comandado por Raymundo Barbosa um dos mais encarniçados Comandantes”. See: APEP, Códice 1048, D. 45.

rebellious Cabanos and his efforts to bring Munduruku Indians to help him with some information:

The Munduruku headman living in this village and another nine people who have recently arrived from the Preto river informed me, by mail, that the rebels are spread out in different villages and places and all the Munduruku living on the upper river ask for legal permission to fight them. For this reason, I intend to send two men of confidence, tomorrow morning, to find out how things are going and what are the conditions of the other refugees¹³⁵

Apparently one of his Munduruku informants was the tuxaua Joaquim Batibú Jalas. It was information provided by Joaquim Batibú Jalas, and the trust placed in this information, that allowed Serra Freire to better explore the preto river, though not higher than the actual city of Aveiros where a camp was established in 1838¹³⁶. Bates (1979 [1863]: 181) described Joaquim as the main tuxaua of all Munduruku nation. Harris mentions that around 1836, when the Munduruku served as scouts for the imperial army their leading figure was a headman from the Madeira, known by the name of Joaquim Manoel Frutuoso (Harris, 2010: 238). Hemming (1987) specifically say he came from the Abacaxis under the name of Joaquim José Pereira. One of the first historical sources to mention him, however, Cônego Francisco Bernardes de Sousa, doesn't provide enough detail for us to judge beyond doubt that he was Munduruku. Apparently, he was called to work in a recent military post founded at the Abacaxis by Ambrosio Ayres Bararoá. Ambrosio, the Amanã river Mura chief, recorded near the mouth of the Japurá at the end of the previous century, was only

¹³⁵ “Que tenho sido informado pelo Principal dos Mundurucus, q se axa nesta Villa, e de 9 indevidos ontem chegados do Rio Preto, vindos em companhia de hum Correio que a ele mandou o mencionado Principal, de que os rebeldes se acham reunidos em diversos pontos e povoações, e bem assim que todos os Mundurucus q. ocupam a parte de cima do Rio estão legais e pedem proteção para baterem os rebeldes, por cuja causa tenciono amanhã mandar 2 homens inteligentes do Lugar acompanhados do Correio do Principal a trazer melhores , e mais constanciadas noticias do estado das coisas por aquele lugar, pois dizem-me averem além dos Mundurucus muita gente legal, e que estão refugiadas pelos matos”. See: APEP. Códice 888. D.112.

¹³⁶ APEP. Códice 888. D.123.

one political division of the bigger Mura. The recently settled Mura of Borba didn't know Ambrosio's group, for example. On the contrary, without the partnership with Manoel Sanches, his attacks on the lower Amazon would have been useless. At the time, Ambrosio appeared to be part of a group of descending Indians at the Juruá river. This diversity of groups under the same name gave the impression that:

There appeared to exist no central organization of any kind among the Mura except (the Portuguese officer surmised) some form of temporary leadership by a principal chief in times of war (Sweet, 1992: 71)

Here we have two interesting things. The Portuguese believed Indians lacked central and permanent political organization. Central, because missionary sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, abound on descriptions of *principais*, and were confused to see political power was sometimes divided in two or more people inside the same group. Permanent because they were inconstant (Sztutman, 2012: 284). Ambrosio and other Manao survivors, who had lived near the Solimões when they were younger, had developed revolutionary ideas. After being attacked by Mura, Ambrosio survived and from then on was raised in the Autazes sharing Mura culture and way of life. Ambrosio's mobility was apparently very high, as he could visit other branches of the group and even sometimes persuade one or two to engage in contact with the Portuguese. Although being a violent mercenary, his leadership was not only exercised in times of war. On the contrary, we tend to think commerce was the exemplary occasion for Ambrosio's protagonism, a different type of chief operating in the time of abundance where it was possible also to visit relatives in other localities on their way to the *descimentos*.

If Ambrósio of the colonial period was the same Bararoá from the Cabanagem this meant that *principais*, if well related, could spend their whole life earning prestige and gifts from colonial authorities by helping them to contact foreign groups of Indians. It is also interesting to observe the variation of surnames around the same person. That could be a leadership strategy, but also a lack of definition of kinship filiation the whites attribute to indigenous leaders.

Joaquim, Bararoá, and other indigenous headman besides having grown up in the forest maintained a vast net of relations with Indians from inland areas. When the

indigenous population adhered *en masse* to the riotous movement they began to house Cabanos¹³⁷ inside their houses and lead them on their own immemorial itineraries. They may have facilitated the passage of the defeated Cabanos upriver; as from the Tapajós headwaters rebels could easily go to Mawés (Menendez, 1992: 292). There is a close relationship between the Munduruku from the upper river and the territorial migrations happening between the affluents of the Madeira. Many of the groups seemed to circulate widely occupying a big area superimposing landscapes.

The Cabanagem helped to build the Mundurucania territory. Just after the rebellion was quelled Indians in Grão Pará were forced to work on the so-called *corpo de trabalhadores*. At the point of Henri Bates' arrival in Aveiros at the end of June 1852 he decided to leave the Tapajos river and enter the Cupari river. He made plans to visit the Munduruku of the waterfalls near Itaituba, but to cross the rapids would require a lighter boat and also six to eight indigenous rower men, something unavailable for him at the moment. The alternative was then, to take the deep and fertile Cupari surrounded by a dense and humid high forest wall, until its headwaters where a group of this 'noble' indigenous group was living at its margins.

The distance from Aveiros to the last civilized settlement on the Tapajos, Itaituba is about forty miles. The falls commence a short distance beyond this place. Ten formidable cataracts or rapids then succeed each other at intervals of a few miles; the chief of which are the Coaita, the Bubure, the Salto Grande (about thirty feet high), and the Montanha. The canoes of Cuyaba tradesmen which descend annually to Santarem are obliged to be unloaded at each of these, and the cargoes carried by land on the backs of Indians, whilst the empty vessels are dragged by ropes over the obstructions (Bates, 1976: 233).

Everything that was movable in the canoe was carried on the back of the Indians to the head of the waterfall, while others would look out for a canal through which the empty and lighter canoe could pass. Often, Indians had to confront difficult

¹³⁷ The term designates inhabitants living in *cabanos*, the region's porret housing but according to Mark Harris "it is unlikely the rebels ever accepted (the term cabanos) for themselves; and they had no overall name for their rebellion (Harris, 2010: 5)

and dangerous paths, sometimes under driving rain, so that the merchandise could safely arrive at the other end. On the rapids, river water came rushing down carrying anything that had the misfortune to fall into the mass of current. Indian carriers were also common in 19th century Colombia. Different from their lowland compatriots, however, the *silleros* could carry up to 120 kilos of merchandise, including the people themselves. Colonizers became extremely dependent on this kind of transport and expertise, sometimes feeling uncomfortable to be put in such situation, mistreating the Indians for pure pleasure (Taussig, 1993 [1987]: 291). It seems that the culture of torture was the only way colonizers found to convince native inhabitants to reveal how they mapped their territory. This was especially true in relation to trading as was the case for 19th century feather exchange in the Amazon and beyond, and the indigenous participation in the colonial imaginary. We shall move to this in the next session.

Feather Ornaments

Because of the proliferation of references to Munduruku feather adornment production we have the tendency to believe that this group spent an inordinant amount of time manufacturing these objects. However, in accordance with what has been discussed in this chapter we will show that feather adornments were used by chiefs or other special persons, the same people that served as interpreters, guides or hosts in the villages. Besides their particular aesthetic fascination, that is why they frequently appear in the literature. I also try to show that different groups in the upper Tapajós region were specialized in working with feathers. We will see in the third section of the thesis that the feather motif also appears in some of the myths the Munduruku told, either in the form of inviting the enemy to produce headdresses or more animally, coloring the feathers (tapirage) to change the course of natural phenomena. We start by looking at some museum catalogue descriptions to see the variety of materials used to make the adornments, although not completely supported by them in the sense pointed out by Menget, the catalogue still:

Reflects the attitudes of the ancient Spanish collectors in which all indigenous production is no more than a prehispanic coloured kaleidoscope (1994: 367)¹³⁸

After that, we turn to the ethnological literature to understand what adorning and mummifying a head might mean for the Munduruku, and why feather adornments are necessarily related to the concept of chieftaincy. We hope that after this trajectory it will be possible to see how the acquisition of objects has mediated the knowledge the colonizers had from the upper Tapajós Indians and to point out the need for more anthropological studies in the area of museums, feather exchange and use among South American Indians. The texts of the catalogues rarely portray any mechanism other than artistic acculturation that can put indigenous meaning at the forefront of the discovery of indigenous America.

The taking of different parts of the human body as trophies can be found in different places of the world including the entirety of America and this has always fascinated the colonizer as a wild and exotic practice in which some indigenous groups were specialized. In North America, the practice was well diffused among the Indians of the Mexican gulf and the Florida peninsula. With their migrations to the north the custom spread to the different alonquinian groups living at the margins of the São Lorenço. The Incas, the Nasca and the Wari Empires of Peru's central coast and highlands are the best known cases for the pre-Columbian Andes, while the Guaikuru, Chiringuanos, Tobas and Matacos are the best examples for the Gran-Chaco (Andrushko, 2012). But the practice was also found in the Amazonia lowlands with the Colombian-Ecuadorians Jivaros and the Tapajós Munduruku. In some cases, trophy-heads pass through a series of stages of adornments and care with the intention of being displayed in special ceremonies where a great symbolism was attached to them. Villages that didn't manage to store their trophy-heads could borrow them from a neighboring group for the party period (Gusinde, 1944: 289). The occurrence of feather art among the Miranhas of the upper Japurá river suggest the intertribal commerce of feather objects with the Munduruku was active at the time of Martius expedition (Zerries, 1980: 185).

¹³⁸ "Reflète l'attitude des anciens collecteurs castillans pour qui toute la production indigène n'était qu'un kaléidoscope coloré et pré-hispanique"

Not only the Indians but also the colonizers felt the necessity to display these heads. The only difference being that the latter created museums to put them inside. The famous trophy heads coming from the upper Tapajós region are stored in museums all over the world as well as many other Munduruku feather objects and can achieve exorbitant prices in the art market. Munduruku and material culture from the Tapajós-Madeira can be found in a variety of countries, as is illustrated in the table below with information drawn mainly from Dorta (1992) and some other museum catalogues. The following analysis would be based on some of the collected and described objects.

Table 1 - Trophy Heads and Headdresses from the Tapajós in Museums

Brazil	1) 1953: Museu do Índio – FUNAI, Rio de Janeiro. Robert Murphy Collection		
Portugal	1) Coimbra University. Anthropological Museum and Laboratory - 1783-92: Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira Collection	2) Archeological Museum of Lisbon (Museu Nacional de Arqueologia e Etnologia)	3) Azuaga Municipal House of Culture, Vila Nova de Gaia
France	1) Musée de l'Homme, Paris: - 1852-5: Emile Carrey Collection (Emile Carrey Mission) - 1878: Paul Broca Collection - 1880: Charmes Collection - 1881: Alphonse Pinart Collection - 1882: Parton Collection - 1909: Musée de Saint-Germain en Laye		
Spain	1) 1862-6: Museo de América,		

	Madrid. Pacific Naturalist Expedition Collection		
England	1) Collection online: The British Museum		
Italy	<p>1) Museo Nazionale di Antropologia ed Etnologia, Firenze</p> <p>- 1869: Guido Boggiani and others Collection</p>	<p>2) Museo Civico Modena</p> <p>- 1875-79: Raffaele de Agostini</p>	<p>3) Museo Preistorico ed Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini", Roma</p> <p>- 1881: Isabela Lane Conolly</p> <p>- 1883: Ladislau Netto Collection</p> <p>- 1885: Enrico Shivazappa Collection</p> <p>- 1891: Real Armeria di Torino</p> <p>- 1912: Ettore Mattiolo Collection</p> <p>- 1913: Enrico H. Giglioli Collection</p>
Germany	<p>1) 1817-20: Staatlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich. Johann B. von Spix and Carl F. von Martius Collection</p>	<p>2) 1817-36: Ethnographical Museum Dresden (Staatlichen Museum für Völkerkunde)</p> <p>- 1652-83: Carl Mildner Collection</p> <p>- 1817-36: Johann Natterer Collection</p> <p>- 1840-4: Robert E.</p>	<p>3) Staatliche Museen zu Berlin</p>

		Schomburgk Collection -1871-73: O'Byrn Collection - 1877: Saxony Historical Museum Collection - 1928-9: Arthur Speyer Collection	
Russia	1) 1821-9: Academy of Science/Museum of Anthropology and Ethology, San Petesburg. Langsdorff Expedition Collection		
Switzerland	1) 1858-61: Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel - Henry de Buren Collection	2) 1932: Museum für Völkerkunde, Basiléia - 1932: K. Blattmann Collection	3) 1925: Sammlung für Völkerkunde Burgdorf - 1925: H. Jordi Collection
Sweedden	1) 1865-9: Ethnographic Museum Stockholm. Mörner, Aare. - Francisco Silva Castro Collection		

Taking a closer look at the *Amazonian Feather Art Catalogue* of the America Museum, for example, it is possible to appreciate two headdresses with neck covers that supposedly come from the Tapajós Munduruku. A similar objects was put on public display in 1866 in Madrid and reappeared again at the Universal Exposition of 1929 in that same city. It is a Munduruku headdress with neck-cover attached made of yellow, blue and red parrot feathers. It clearly went through a tapiragem process. The use of blue, yellow and purple *Ara ararauna* and *Ara macao* feathers is pronounced.

Somedark feathers of the Mutum (*Crax* sp.)¹³⁹ are also used. The sign on the object says: 'Tocado Munduruku con cobre nuca, Colección E.P.S. XIX'. The object was collected in the Pacific Scientific Expedition, probably in Santarém, where Jimenez de la Espada and his partners managed to arrive on 7th October 1865 descending the Amazon river from Quito.

Similarly, however, at the Museu Nacional de Etnologia, in Portugal, it is possible to see a "grinalda com cobre-nuca" attributed to the Rikbaktsa from the Mato Grosso region collected in the 20th century¹⁴⁰. At the Munich Ethnographical Museum, there are many Munduruku objects collected by Spix and Martius. Otto Zeries, the curator of the old catalogue, classified a similar headdress as pertaining to the Arara group.

A large part of the museum's collection of heads came from a well-established commerce constituted after the first contact, in which the trophy heads assumed prominence during the 19th century (Souza and Martins, 2003/2004: 163)¹⁴¹

At the Brazilian Anthropological Exposition of 1882 organized by the Rio de Janeiro Museu Nacional it was possible to see the *pariua-á* or mummified enemy head carried by the *dajeboiši* on the *pariuá-reñape*. The author explains that during the ceremony of *pariuate-ran*, or enemy-belt the chief orders a big hunt with the warriors from different places that came to the village where the party is held. After that, the hosting chief starts to weave the enemies' belt singing for the nude Munduruku guests to remember that what they are doing is a traditional service left by their grandparents. After the *inem-ñates*, or the wound men receive their belts, and while the war trumpet sounded continually, they go inside the *eksá* to dress in festive regalia, while the dead warrior widows receive the reward and other adornments like a necklace of the enemy

¹³⁹ Catálogo Arte Plumario Amazónico. Museo de América. Los Munduruku. 70 and 71. "Tocado con cobre nuca". Pp. 117

¹⁴⁰ Ficha de Inventário. Museu Nacional de Etnologia. BD. 135. Etnologia

¹⁴¹ "Grande parte das cabeças que integram coleções de museus procederam de um florescente comercio de trocas estabelecido após o contato, no qual estes troféus passaram a ter um papel de destaque no século 19"

teeth, the *cururape* or band with colored feather strings of their husbands and the *putá*, scepter, in each of their hands. The ceremony ends with the monstrous sound of the *Kadoko* instrument (Barbosa Rodrigues, 1882: 45-6).

The same kind of headdress can be found all over the region that covers the state of Mato Grosso and upper Tapajós river. Besides that, it seems that the influence of the practice of headhunting was also widespread among the, so-called, Tupi-Kawahib.

Menget (1996: 129) reveals that headhunting was an act of war in itself, and that the Munduruku had an enormous variety of enemies, specially the Parintintim. This can be demonstrated by a spear found in the Natterer collection at the Vienna Museum, which supposedly came from a war between the Parintintim and the Munduruku in the year 1832. The Munich catalogue corroborates this idea, displaying a spear stolen by the Munduruku from the Parintintim collected long before by Martius in 1820 (Zerries, 1960: 141)¹⁴². Murphy (1958) recounts a myth collected by Kruse (1952: 1002-3) of the transformation of Karuetaouibö and Wakurumpö cut heads in the shiny sun of the dry season and the moon. Munduruku objects started to be collected only in the 19th century mainly because of their availability in the lower river, such as Santarém and Belém. They were composed of headdresses, crowns, mantles, belt, garters and armbands; no to mention the trophy-heads. It is not understood why, despite their similar treatment, the heads on sale bought by the explorers were only from the enemies of the Munduruku, while the Munduruku warriors' trophy-heads were secretly buried and could not enter into commercial logic (Inhering, 1907: 196). To conclude that, however, it is necessary to understand how groups are formed and who is considered part of this group together with who is not. This is an effort this thesis tries to make.

As we saw earlier, the *Dajeboiši* (mother of the peccary) was the person responsible for sponsoring the ceremonies of adorning the enemy head that took place during the three successive rainy seasons following the return of the warrior expedition. The trophy head had the power to attract and multiply game and the official title is associated with fertility. It is not uncommon to see people around the world who associate skulls with fertility. It was believed to seduce the spirit protectors of the

¹⁴² Katalog: Indianer vom Amazonas. Kunst und Handwerk der Indianer des tropischen Südamerika. Germany. München. 1960. M.f.V.M. 675. "Reich verzierter Speer".

animal world. Inter-village participation also means the assemblage of clans to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads. The decoration begins with the ceremony called *Inyenborotaptam*, or decorating the ears. Murphy gives more details:

Feathers from five species of birds were used in the ornamentation, and each type of feather could be attached only by the Kirixi, Akai, Chunyún and Parawá clans and those of the mutum by the Witúm clan. The Karu clan and subclan, the Sau subclan, and the Warú clan and subclan used the feathers of the red macaw; the Kabá clan attached parrot feathers; and the Borón clan contributed those of the gavia tawató (Murphy, 1958: 55).

The second phase of the ceremony was called the *Yašegon* ritual, or stripping the skin from the head. For Menget, the division of phases was equivalent to the division of age classes and the protagonists of this phase were a group of men called vultures which batted the head back and forth with sticks; this was similar to the muchahá society from the previous phase (Menget, 1993: 317). The third and final phase was also the climax of the ceremony was called *Taimetoröm*, or hanging the teeth, because the teeth of the head were extracted from the trophy head and strung on a woven cotton belt:

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the Dareksi or "mothers of the arrow." The Darek'i was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucu arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Darek'i. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajeboi'i and his wife resumed their normal life (Murphy, 1957: 1025).

Murphy believed this ceremony was one of the few remaining corporate functions of the fragmented clans. The warfare rites served to integrate the population

of the different Munduruku villages and to maintain bonds of association between clansmen.

Conclusion:

The difficulty of classifying indigenous material culture is that, one can only do so by putting that same culture in a straitjacket. Throughout the thesis we are trying to make the point that the idea that there were bigger entities or groups sharing the same way of life is only a fiction that anthropologists tend to use in describing societies which are distinguishable or are similar by the recognition of a separate trait of their character. As an alternative thesis, we believe that the definition of trophy head as pertaining to a Munduruku enemy or to a Munduruku itself, defines more precisely how enemies and Munduruku alike are classified.

CHAPTER 3: INDIGENOUS MOBILITY



Ascending the Rapids.

Introduction:

From the second half of the 18th century, movements of Indians is described as having taken place in one of the *varadouros* connecting the Tapajós to the Madeira rapidly changing the ethnic landscape of the interfluvial Tapajós-Madeira. The movements were influenced greatly by the protagonism assumed by the Munduruku Indians since their pacification at the end of the century. Robert Murphy, one of the few anthropologists to have done fieldwork among the group, says the Munduruku

were expanding their territory from 1750 onwards, in a movement outwards from the Tropas River.

In this chapter I invite the reader to travel with me up the Tapajós and observe and understand the landscape descriptions of some localities. My goal is to explore the continuity in the descriptions of the river following the map presented in the first chapter, as well as how the main river route has expanded in specific land routes which were expansions from the original Indian trails. There is no doubt, affirms Antonio Porro, that at least in the Upper Amazon, more than simple trails, but a net of walkable paths inside the forest, interconnect with the riverine villages (Porro, 1996: 127). These land routes could also be described as the region Coudreau calls the complex of waterfalls of the Lower Tapajós. To navigate the waterfalls generates novel inland routes, and means entering in contact with the existent Indians living in a different territory at the riverbanks or throughout inland areas. The chapter describes parts of the Tapajós left bank, which was occupied by Mawé Indians doing inland trade between the Madeira and the Tapajós rivers around the city of Itaituba, not only by the famous Mamboai route, but also by other small rivers connecting the two river basins. It is important to highlight that movements happening on the Tapajós left bank were different from the right bank movements and only in some cases groups crossed the Tapajós. Whenever possible, I try to set out the name of the waterfall, the name of the river close to it, the rubber stands and their proprietors around that locality. I also show some affinities between the Tapajós and Xingu Indians based on the example of the Munduruku, and culminating in an overview of ethnic migrations between these three rivers. Although not entering into archaeological details, this chapter engages in theoretical discussions on pre-colonial migration influenced by barter exchange such as in pre-Columbian Mexico or the Amazon and Orinoco. The best example of this contact before contact, for the Amazon, is still the ceremonial exchange of frog-shaped green-stones (Boomert, 1987) although Gell had called attention reproductive gifts obscured the level of interest anthropologist have paid to the development of interethnic commodity barter in old Melanesia (Gell, 1992: 142).

In the second half of the 19th century, people from Cuiabá, known as the *cuyabanos* already took the Diamantino-Itaituba route regularly in order to trade with the *Guaraná* between December and January each year. The trip comprising more or less two thousand kilometers was done in twenty days by *itaúba igarités*. After leaving Diamantino, more than a hundred miles north of Cuiabá, they left fluvial transport and

took a 40 km walk by land to the Preto river already inside the Amazon Basin. They continued navigating North until they reached the Juruena in what can be called the second part of the trip when they finally arrived in the São Manoel, 662 km away from Itaituba, further up the Mawé village of *Acará*, in the Tapajós. Every year an alternate movement happened along this main route between Diamantino and Itaituba. To do this, the Mawé Indians were their guides:

At Itaituba, or even in Maués, to where they were guided by the Mawé indians, they walk crossing the Tapajós' left margin savannah fields, usually following the Mamboay route where they go to buy the valuable guaraná. They spend four months on the round trip and often receive help from the Apiaká indians (Tavares, 1876: 30)¹⁴³

The Munduruku from the Cupari

To go to the Munduruku villages in the upper Cupari lands, sixty kilometers above the Tapajós, Bates relied for help on two *mameluco* Indians living in that river, João Aracu and João Antonio Malagueita. As this work is trying to show, more than the mixture of a Portuguese father with an indigenous Amazonian mother, the *mestiços* acquired a significant amount of power for their intermediary role as *cunhamena*, after solidifying alliances with numerous indigenous headmen scattered into the forest (Sommer, 2006: 768). They usually received the traveler well and despite living in the worst localities they could offer the best the civilization could bring to these remote places. This is why they are usually called *civilizados* in the narrative travels published in Europe. With their practical mastery and advanced knowledge of the routes of penetration (Roller, 2012: 108) they helped Henry Bates to

¹⁴³ “Em Itaituba, ou mesmo em Maués para onde seguem guiados pelos indios do mesmo nome, caminhando através das campinas da margem esquerda do Tapajos, ordinariamente pelo lugar denominado –Mamboay- é onde se vão suprir por alto preço do procurado guaraná. Gastam na torna-viagem quatro meses termo medio e é nessa ocasião que os índios Apiaká prestam os melhores serviços”

build a new canoe and continue to research in areas otherwise impossible to reach by the solitary white traveler. The three men penetrated the Cupari and around August 21st Bates began to see conic roofs pointing out from the woods shortly after arrived at the first Munduruku village. It had around thirty houses, perhaps around fifty to sixty families and ten kilometers of land extension. The village was partially empty because almost all Munduruku men were in an expedition:

all the fighting men had this morning returned from a two days' pursuit of a wandering horde of savages of the Pararauate tribe, who had strayed this way from the interior lands and robbed the plantations (Bates: 241).

The *Pararauates* lived in constant war with the Munduruku, classified by them in an almost divine status: believing they had no fixed place and guided themselves in the forest only using the sun by the day, and hanging their hammocks to sleep open sky at night. This group of Indians ranged from the headwaters of the Itapacurá to the banks of the Curuá; and from Munduruku settlements on the Tapajós to the Pacajaz (Bates, 320). We have two hypotheses for the *Pararauat* name. In the first case, it could have been easily distorted into *Araras*, as argued by Bates, a group in permanent war with the Munduruku in the Tapajós-Madeira area. *Parawawát* was, then, the term used by the *Kuruaya* to call the *Arara*. He managed to talk in Portuguese with the Cupari Munduruku headman who confessed to him that in the past, the *Cupari-Munduruku* were a bigger group of about 300 warriors, but the number declined when they separated from the main group as they abandoned village life and scattered in twenty to thirty houses (Murphy, 1978: 33) along the banks of the Tapajós, a six day trip from where they formerly stood.

Recent Indigenous History of the Jamanchim

After meeting a Mawé family at the mouth of the *Tucunaré* river ten years later, and with the intention of pursuing this *uaranaan* route, Barbosa Rodrigues gives us a

picture of the Mawé trading routes from the Tapajós at this time when, followed by the sound of a band of hoatzins, he arrived at a small port, in the Tapajós river, from where, by foot, began the route to the Mawés land:

Quickly following to the Maués I had to cross a large tract of forest, where the trail is, if we can hardly call by this name the difficult passage in between dense and close vegetation sometimes avoiding thorns and vines. The uneven terrain forced me to go up and down zigzag rivers and small portions of water (Barbosa Rodrigues, 107)¹⁴⁴

Less than a day further ahead, he arrived at an village called *Sahy*, a Mawé place on the top of a hill, with eighty people and around ten houses, named after their *Tucháua*. Sahy wanted to show the other Mawé villages around, but Barbosa Rodrigues was too sick to continue and came back again to the Tapajós riverbanks. On his way back, he would stop at Manoel Raymundo's house on the right side of the river to explore the Jamanchim area.

Barbosa Rodrigues initiated the first Mawé settlements close to the mouth of the Jamanxim. From this point onwards, they would only increase in number. One could continue further downriver entering in the *Mamboai* river, ranging over where the Mawés lived. The prominence of a heavy rain made Barbosa Rodrigues sleep in the middle of the path, however, still on the banks of the Tapajós, at the house of a Mawé Indian who was hosting the Tuxaua of the Mawé village of *Acará*. He decided to continue upriver when, in less than two hours' navigation, he arrived at the Munduruku village of the tucháua *Paulo*, apparently the only one among the Mawés. Shortly after he happened to meet *José Pocu*, a Mawé Tuchaua living with two more families close to a locality called *Fechos da Montanha* in the Montanha waterfall. Montanha was the stony locality of the Mawé village of *Acará*, in which the author had already met the chief down below and was 450 km distant from Itaituba.

¹⁴⁴ "Seguindo logo para os Mauhes tive de atravessar uma grande floresta, por entre a qual é sempre o caminho, se caminho pôde chamar-se a passagem por entre a vegetação fechada, que se anda desviando, ora dos espinhos, ora dos cipós. O terreno todo acidentado obrigava-me, ora a subir ora a descer, passando igapós, e igarapés"

Reaching the Acará waterfall, one could stand at the top of the Montanha hill and calculate the exact distance away from Itaituba: 139 km. The Igarapé Montanha was the limit of the territory occupied by the Mawés on the Tapajós' left bank (Octaviano Pinto, 1930: 309) and was shortly after, crossing the Mangabal bay, the northeast limit of the Bacabl Mission whose territory extends until two great hills called Santa Barbara and *Cuatacuára* rocks before the beginning of the *estirão do Labirinto*.

The Mawé themselves assure us that in the interiors, there are savage Mawé, south and southwest from the Montanha river, and no relation is held between them (Coudreau, 1897: 45)¹⁴⁵

The indigenous history of the Jamanxim river could be better understood from the beginning of the 20th century, when Emile Snethlage following Coudreau's travels used an indigenous labor force and started to pursue a hydric passage between the Xingu and the Tapajós rivers and some of their affluents (Correa, 1995). It was one of the few explorations we know that followed the Curuá-Jamanxim route, connecting the Tapajós with the Xingu river. From the Tocantins river, "o maior afluente do Jamanchim, já habitado a mais de dez anos e rico de borracha e caucho" (Snethlage, 1913: 90) one can take a twoday trip to the *Aruri* river in direction to the Xingu or from Santa Helena - in the Jamanxim just below the Tocantins mouth – to São Luiz, final point of the Tapajós navigation in a five-days trip.¹⁴⁶

As we saw in the last chapter, Curt Nimuendaju believed the *Munduruku* knew a group in the upper Cabitutu river called *Wiaunyen*. For him, this was an isolated group of Indians not yet identified in the historical sources. Franciscan Albert Kruse attested that they were originally from the Mutum river headwaters. In an interview, André Ramos heard that the old Biboy Munduruku chief was born in the Cabitutu river, which they called *Witonãñã uk'a*, where the Mutum sang (Ramos, 2000). According to Tocantins, the *Nhauanhen* were a sub group of the *Parintintim* living in the Jamanchim waterfalls (1875: 98). The same thought had Ernest Morris who reported that few

¹⁴⁵ "Confirmam os próprios Mawés haver no interior, ao sul e a sudoeste do igarapé da Montanha, Mawés bravos, com os quais mantém relação de nenhuma espécie"

¹⁴⁶ Approximately 91 Km after passing the mouth of the Jamanchim, going up the Tapajós, the river makes a sharp curve to the north reaching the Feichos region in an area occupied by the *seringal Urubutú*.

inhabitants lived in the waterfalls and no one dared to collect rubber at the Jamanchim mouth for fear of being attacked by the wild Parintintim (1884). These Indians were related by their common use of the Munduruku language, however, according to Stromer, making him believe they were the better known Kuruaya of the Curuá do Iri river (1930). It was as if the Munduruku had migrated across the Jamanchim to live in the Curuá under the name Kuruaya, to distinguish from their Tapajós fellows. The Kuruaya, however, are registered in the literature long before the Munduruku. Many Munduruku from the Tapajós, during this time, established connections both with settlements in the lower Madeira and in the Xingu direction through these Indians. But that was only part of a larger *internal communication line* (Tavares-Bastos, 1866: 236). Migration to the Madeira from the Xingu was going on in different parts of the upper Tapajós, as well, by the connection of the headwaters of the Curuá, Iri, Cururu, Jamanchim, Crepori, Sucunduri, Aripuanã and Abacaxi rivers (see map). Many Munduruku Indians living in the Tapajós Campinas took this route. The upper Tapajós is a zone of soil and water-household transition between the Hylaea and the Cerrado. The Cururu valley has black-earth soil, which also indicates that this was an ancient dwelling-place of the pre-colombian indigenous population (Sioli, 1967: 454)

Snetahge traversed part of this landscape on foot and observed that the Kuruaya Indians appeared in the Iri river already with civilized objects, which she supposed came either from the Munduruku at the Jamanchim or from the Araras on the mucambos of the Ituqui river (59). The Juruna vocabulary collected by Nimuendaju in 1916-7 was in part given by an Arara Indian called Pedro living in the Iri. The Juruna referred to the Arara by the name Ašipá. The Takunyapé are the Peua, the Suyá, Però and the Munduruku, Karuriã (1932: 584). In 1884, Von den Steinen found some ancient Arara villages on the Xingu river just below the mouth of the Iri, where he stayed at the house of a Peua captain named Ambros (Steinen, 1886: 274). The Bakairi *Schuyá* (or Suyá) (Steinen, 1892) together with the *Trumai* and the recently heard *Aratá*, were generally called *kuräpa* by Steinen's informants meaning "not good". Frikel understood the word *Kuräpa* as *Kupé Saká*, the "Knife People" meaning wild or bad Indians, as being the Munduruku themselves (1969-72: 107). They were feared by all other Indian nations, who gave them the nickname Paiquicé, meaning headhunter (Casal, 1976 [1811]: 325). Long before receiving industrialized goods, the Muduruku used bamboo knives, which they used to cut the heads of their enemies killed in battle (Hartt, 1885: 130)

According to Dominique Gallois, many groups left the lower Xingu and Tapajós to escape from first white penetration in the region during the end of the 17th century. The *Waiãpi* themselves, according to this author, came from a land far past the Tapajós and Xingu watersheds where they lived together with other Tupian groups like the Kuruaya, Tacunaipé (or Taconhapé), Xipaia, Aruari and Juruna (Gallois, 1980: 82). At about this time, Bettendorff mentions the *Curabares*, referring to the episode in which Father João Maria moved twenty villages from the Xingu to the Tapajós river (2010: 554). This was probably because of the tensions between the *Caravares* and the *Tacunaipé* who allied with the Juruna (Nimuendaju, 1932, 544)¹⁴⁷. Nimuendaju believed this movement generated a migration by the Kuruaya to the South, which may have been an offset of this ancient bigger group, which was only formed at the end of the 19th century. Chambouleyron (2008), however, remembers that the historical studies still face the difficulty of considering indigenous names as uniform totalities as designed by the Portuguese. The Tacunaipé, in this sense, would not necessarily carry the Tacunaipé identity (if this exists), but would be a kind of spatial attribute, easily comparable to other Tupi groups. In our case, Indians would come from the Mundurucania, a region inhabited by other groups geographically identified with the Munduruku.

This is somehow connected with the Tavaquara Misison created by the Jesuit Father Roque Hundertpfund and deactivated five years later. Not only that, but Martius recounted the existence of the *Pora-Aukys* living at the end of the 18th century near Santarém:

In the Lingua Geral they were called Pora aukys meaning the people who attack or Pore tendis, the children's robbers, and because they appeared in considerable numbers, it was called Ceta, i. Many are (Martius, 1867: 707).

If the *Wiaunyen* were a group of people now identified ethnically as the Kuruaya (and not Parintintim), we could say that they migrated from the lower Jamanchim to the upper river, living in between the Jamanchim and the Cabitutu headwaters at the

¹⁴⁷ Although later on Nimuendaju it says that the Takunyapé became friends of the honey-eaters Kuruaya (Nimuendaju, 1932: 546).

beginning of the 20th century. It is possible that this Kuruaya group was expelled from the lower Jamanxim by the group called by them *Parawawát*¹⁴⁸, the Araras. This was not the branch of the Cupari Arara who were pressed by the Munduruku as we saw in the last chapter. The Munduruku traditionally living in the *Witõnãñã* could have incorporated the group at the *Ipakpakat* or red side. Nimuendaju believed the Curuaia had a central role in intertribal movement of the region, especially between 1918 and 1934, when they were disbanded by Kayapó attacks:

The largest group of the Curuaya took the road from the mouth of the Riozinho do Iriri to the Tapajoz; other groups scattered along the middle Iriri. The remainder, except for a few who stayed on the Iriri, live together with the last of the Shipaya near "Gorgulho do Barbado" on the lower Curua. In all, there are perhaps less than 30 of them (Nimuendaju, 1948: 222).

The interesting thing is that, at the end of the 19th century, Coudreau drew his map mentioning that the Arara were living on the left bank of the Xingu, between the *Guiriri* and *Ambé* rivers spreading almost to the headwaters of the Curuá (1896). Apparently this Arara group was also circulating in the Xingu-Tapajós interfluvium so as to be found up the Iriri together with Sipaia Indians, in 1917 (Nimuendaju, 1981). Nimuendaju believed the Arara from the Tocantins were called Apiaká in the Xingu (Nimuendaju, 1914: 625).

Not only that, but it is during the first half of the 20th century that some groups started to wander near the Tapajós river forests. In 1915, Nimuendaju recorded the language of a man living in the upper Curuá who was said to be *Mebengokre*. In 1918 the Górotire made their first apparition in the Curuá river, again attacking the *Kuruáia* in 1934 (Nimuendaju, 1952: 429). As a consequence of internal fights, the Gorotire

¹⁴⁸ *Parawá duk ti*, or the river of the Blue Macaw house, ends in the Tapajós river (Gomes, 2006: 299). According to Nimuendaju the Curuaya also referred to the Yuruna using the term *Parawa-wad*; the blue macaw people (Nimeundaju, 1930: 326; HSAI III: 218). For Morris, in "The search of human heads" the Parawatcha are the Campineiros *Parintintim*, who live between the Jamanxim and Xingu river's lower rapids (Morris, 1884). Intriguingly, when the British Navy Tenent Henry Lister Maw (1829) inquired about the meaning of the word "Paraway" he was told that it was an Indian term meaning a native of Pará (281).

fragmented into several groups around the year 1936 having, since then, as their main enemy the Kubē-krākégn. In 1939 two other unknown different Kayapó groups still circulated in the Iriri and Jamanxim interfluve at the right margin of the Tapajós, reaching as far as Itaituba and Fordlândia.

Turner expands the circulation space of these Indians saying they were the famous *Ipotwat* described by Tocantins back in 1875¹⁴⁹. According to Verswijver (1985: 194-5), Kayapó expansion began from the 20th century onwards separating the Northern and exterminating the Southern Kayapó. The *Mekrãgnotí*, the name under which they would start to be known had the villages of *Ngõkamrékti* (Jamanchim) and *Kwrydjyiti* in the Curuá river until 1984. In September 1950, two punitive expeditions were sent by rubber bosses from the Baú river, to scare neo-Brazilians in the locality of Bonfim, in the Jamachim river (Arnaud, 1989: 453).

Based on Kayapó ethnography, Vanessa Lea mentions the concept of trekking as useful to think about the cyclic displacements these Indians effectuated between an area which had a principal village and secondary ones¹⁵⁰ (1997). Supported by previous ethnographies, Laura Rival summarizes:

They would come together again for the first rains and remain in the village throughout the wet season, a time for agriculture and ceremonies. In fact, it can be said that Kayapó society is traditionally composed of numerous trekking groups that congregate in ancestral villages to carry out elaborate ceremonial activities (2002: 16).

¹⁴⁹ According to Father Albert Kruse the actual red and white Munduruku were, in the past, different enemy groups, each one with its own land. He recorded the following dialogue:

Então Karusakaybë disse a eles: "Não sejam mais inimigos entre si! Tornem se irmãos! E dispostos todos obedeceram. E Karusakaybë falou: "Agora está tudo bem. Alegremos nos! Assim se originou a antiga tradição da aliança mundurucu. Padre, você sabe que eu pertenço ao Kabá-riwat. Nós somos uma parte dos Ip-tiwat (Kajapó), que também são chamados de Arú-riwat. (Kababábm um tipo de pássaro, ip coxa; arú um tipo de papagaio, riwat clã). Uma parte dos mundurucus também são os Kakre-wát (pessoas pedra). Eles moravam nas cavernas de pedra nos campos Cururu. No idioma deles sucuriú é sakaybë. Você visitou as cavernas do Erererí com o Yutú (doutor) e ainda encontrou carvão, os vasos de barro que você encontrou são diferentes dos nossos. Nossos vasos são bem mais grossos" (Kruse, 1951).

¹⁵⁰ LEA, Vanessa. *Kapoto: Laudo antropológico*. Campinas: UNICAMP, 1997.

Although being activities of different types, we get closer to reality if we consider that, in Verswijver's terms, linear or seasonal trekking is in principle, not so different from circular or ceremonial trek. These different categories are useful to think about nature of the encounters the different groups had inside the forest and the way they established relationships with one another. It doesn't seem plausible to think that a fishing trek will not engage in war if it suddenly finds another unknown trekking group, even if both of the groups are trekking for reasons different from war. In short, every trek carries inside the group, the potential for the emergence of war. This view is underpinned by Verswijver, when describing the triangular conflict between Kayapó, Xavante and Tapirapé trekking groups:

the small group of warriors could also suffer unexpected attacks from migrating or trekking enemies, as well as the risks of getting slaughtered by numerically stronger enemies when the war party was formed by only a few warriors (1992: 169)

According to Hecht inspired by Kayapó ethnography, during the rubber period:

Trekking to wild groves through forests is a widespread native practice and usually involves going to former villages, former ceremonial sites, and areas 'planted by the ancestors' reviewing history by using landscapes as a mnemonic device, and monitoring territories (2013: 260)

Hugo Mense, quoted by Kruse, collected a list of vocabulary of indigenous names for the Kayapó, and found the Munduruku word for them to be *Akəkakure* (Kruse, 1934). Verswijver mentions that the Kayapó called their worst enemies by the expression *Kreen Akrore*, meaning "people with little round haircuts" (also Heelas, 1979), the *Panará* according to Oakdale (2004). Studying the ethnonyms, Gama Malchner believed the Kreen-Akakore was probably the same group the Kayabi called *Ipê-uhu* living on the right bank of the Teles Pires river. Their hair covered their forehead, they had extended lips, slept on the floor, didn't have tattoos and made use of the *borduna* in the format of a row. For Frikel (1969-72) the Kreen Akrore waged

war with the Suyá dividing the group in two. One half continued to migrate to the Xingu, while the other stayed at the Verde river known by the name of “Beijo de Pau” (132). Frikel probably gathered this information from Steinen, who was himself informed by the Kayabi and Bakairi Indians, and says that they had to cooperate with the Kayapó to expel their Suyá neighbors from the Paranatinga and Verde rivers (Schmidt, 1947: 60). It is also possible that kure is the Kayapó *kôre*, the name of a village (Verswijver, 1978: 48).

The Munduruku called a sacred bone flute by the word *yakanabubu* meaning “made with Bekicaobu bones”. According to Munduruku teachers, *Bekicaobu* was the only Kayapó child able to survive a surprise attack made by the Munduruku on them. At the time, a necklace was made for *Darebu* out of the arm bone of one of the dead Kayapó Indians. This is why the same word is also used in reference to a special bone necklace. The *yakanabubu* necklace was similar to a Tapir one (Tawe, 206)¹⁵¹.

The Munduruku from the Waterfalls: Tiacorão

Florence’s image of the Munduruku of the Tocarizal camping shows naked Munduruku with distinctive checkered body painting around the upper parts of the body just below the back of the neck (Florence, 1948: 308). These are the lesser-known drawings of this group made by the artists. The Munduruku near Itaituba were called *Tiacorão* and already negotiated with the white man:

All villages are distant from the river margins but the ones from the right-hand side are mainly in the savannah fields while the others are in the forest. The Indians from the left margin says they go trading with the whites at the Amazon river right margin (Anônimo, 1898: 107)¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ A photo found in Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira’s expedition attributes to the Munduruku Indians the possible provenance of this object.

¹⁵² “Todas as aldeias existem distantes da margem do rio cinco ou seis léguas, a saber, as que se acham no lado direito são formadas em uma famosa campina, e as que estão na margem esquerda em uma famosa Mataria e dizem os ditos índios

Physically, they show parallel lines running down the chest and legs while the upper part of the body was covered with other geometric forms. Their faces are all black. They are naked but are also wearing a kind of penis sheath. Describing the Arinos/Tapajós navigation, Castelnau recognizes a mix-blooded group of Munduruku Indians with Urupá as inhabiting the Mangabeiras and Montanha waterfalls near the *Acaritú* mountains. Continuing up river, Castelnau also mentions the Urubutu waterfall, also called Feixos, the place where the two groups must have met:

Below the Urubutu waterfall, formed by two banks of rocks which advance from both banks towards the middle of the river and leave only a narrow passage, we have passed to the right the mouth of the Juhuani, their margins are inhabited by Munduruku and Arupas (Castelnau, 1851, III: 107)¹⁵³

In 1853, João Rodrigo de Medeiros explored the *varadouro* between the *Abacaxis* river and the Tapajós campinas, the *Tiacorão*. Leaving the village of Mawé, he got to the *Abacaxis* river and then entered in the *Crauiry* river. Going up the *Crauiry* for five days he stopped to rest and then continued for three more days where he managed to find a Munduruku village almost on the banks of the Tapajós.

Trying to obtain clarification from the headman they got to know that at the Tapajós opposite margin there were people that could give a better explanation (Relatório Provincial 1853: XII)¹⁵⁴

Navigating down the Amazon river Osculati (1854) found Munduruku Indians to be inhabiting the village of Canumã and the city of Santarém together with Mawé. He

habitantes do lado esquerdo que vão negociar com os brancos na margem direita do Amazonas”

¹⁵³ “Au-dessous de la caxoeira d’Urubutu, formée par deux bancs de roches qui s’avancent des deux rives vers le milieu du fleuve et n’y laissent qu’un passage resserré, on passé a droite l’embouchure du Juhuani, don’t les bords sont habités par les Mundurucus et les Arupas”

¹⁵⁴ “Tentando obter esclarecimentos do respectivo Tuxaua, souberam que na margem oposta do dito Tapajós havia gente que podia dar explicações”

calculated that this city lost around 2000 people during the Cabanagem years now having a total of 4000 people living in Santarém (259). He has one lithograph depicting a *selvaggia* Munduruku Indian dancing with a feather scepter; a huge headdress with neck cover and three long feather pendants attached.

Coming from Rio and going up the Amazon, the French painter François A. Biard spent the years 1858 and 1859 travelling in Brazil. He depicted the Munduruku and Arara Indians he met around Canumã. With a little help from an old Munduruku Indian called João he explored part of the larger territory of the lower Madeira. João was the captain of a village close to the Canumã but had come from the Abacaxi in the past. According to Biard's drawings and descriptions, the Munduruku painted their faces with greenish ink and had a line connecting the two ears perpendicular to the nose. The Arara, however, were different because of a growing painting covering the chin until the face before reaching the eyes in a semi-circular way just as described by Bates for the Cupari Munduruku who had a semicircular black patch in the middle of his face, covering the bottom of the nose and mouth; crossed lines on his back and breast, and stripes down his arms and legs (Bates, 1892: 321). They also wore feather ornaments on the nose holes (The Karipuna as well) and above the chin.

It is interesting to compare the Munduruku paintings made by Biard (1858: 540) in the Canumã, to the Florence drawings, which are similar in many senses regarding body tattooing, but show a different hairstyle.

In his statistical record the President remarked that, at the time, 437 Munduruku Indians already lived in the Abacaxi while 795 were living in the Canumã. Both establishments were run by the Indian Director Francisco Antonio Rorigues¹⁵⁵. Some Munduruku appeared in the Mawé river living together with the Mawés. In this same year, the mission of *Sapucaia-Orocoa* had 323 people including Munduruku living together with the Mura¹⁵⁶. An Amazonas official report, states that an epidemic disease spread out in the upper parts of the Tapajós river during the year 1856 forcing

¹⁵⁵ Relatório apresentado á Assembléa Legislativa Provincial [sic], pelo excellentissimo senhor doutor João Pedro Dias Vieira, dignissimo presidente desta província, no dia 8 de julho de 1856 por ocasião da primeira sessão ordinaria da terceira legislatura da mesma Assembléa. Barra do Rio Negro, Typ. de F.J S. Ramos, 1856. Map 11

¹⁵⁶ Província do Amazonas. Extratos da falla dirigida a mesma Assembleia em o 1 de Outubro de 1857 pelo president o Ex. Sr. Angelo Thomas do Amaral. In: RIHGB. pp.467-470. In: RIHGB, Tomo XX. Quarto Trimestre. 1857

the Indians to go down the Mawé-assú; more or less 200 Munduruku went on to live near the village of Mawés:

I heard news that many Munduruku couples came down from the Tiacorão savannah, close to the Namby and Sucurijuassu river and also in some of the eight waterfalls on that territory but had no clothes or any provision. I immediately ordered that a small but well-equipped canoe went to look for Belizario headman and his family, who are the most influential among his tribe (AMAZONAS, 1858, anexo M: 3-4)¹⁵⁷

Ferreira Penna mentions that from that year onwards Itaituba had under its jurisdiction the territories of Pinhel, Aveiro, Brasília Legal and the Munduruku villages of Cury, Santa Cruz and Uxituba, north of the Mundurucania. According to him, in 1848 Santa Cruz had 507 and Uxituba 343 Indians (Ferreira Penna, 1869: 113-5).

In the Indian Directory, João Herique de Mattos mentions the Munduruku village of *Mucajatuba* on the right bank of the Mawé river and for this river, an estimation of 600 Indians living in more than 75 places. 1,072 Munduruku lived at the Abacaxis and 888 at the Canumã (Mattos, 1858: 138). Besides this huge population, some Munduruku lived close to the furo de Maçauary, according to Accioli Silva between the Canumã and the Mawé-Mirim rivers

The Canumá mouth is drained by the Maué-Mirim, close to the left-hand margin Mucuras shortcut and the Amâna-Paraná to the right, popularly known as rain river, the place where one group of Munduruku live and communicate with the others from Santarém. The Mawé live mainly in the Cuauay and divide themselves between several villages known by the name of fruits and animals followed by the name of the group, as for example:

¹⁵⁷ “Tive notícia de terem descido das Campinas de Tiacorão e que se achavam acima do rio Namby, no igarapé Sucurijuassu, e em algumas das oito cachoeiras que dali por diante existem, muitos casais de Munduruku boçais que desejavam vir a Aldeia, mas que a isso obstava a falta de roupa, e provisos. Fiz logo partir para esse lugar uma pequena canoa bem equipada, para trazer-me o principal Belizario com sua família por sere le o mais influente entre os de sua tribo”

Mucura-Tapuia, Jacaré-tapuia, Guaraná-tapuia (Silva, 1833: 274)¹⁵⁸

Commander Henrique Matos was impressed with the vastness of the Canumã; one can go up river for more than twenty days by canoe from the Canumã Mission near its mouth. It creates a channel of communication with the Purus river and in a one-day trip inside the Canumã district one could get to the mouth of the Abacaxis river estimated to have around six hundred people living there. Despite having the Canumã Mission population declined, it still had fifteen houses and one thousand Christian Munduruku “enquanto que triplicado número habitam as chamadas campinas nas vertentes do mesmo rio, sem lei nem religião alguma”. The Munduruku spread from the Canumã until the Mawés river.

If the Governemnt decides to invest in the Indians, it's easy to domesticate the Munduruku from the savannah because they already have domestic relations with the villagers (Matos, 1979: 174)¹⁵⁹

In a story told by Tiago Altaia, he remembers when one big group of Munduruku arrived from the Campinas into the Canumã. He was told that the Arara stood in the way, and many fights happened between them. Manoel Castro, who now lives in the village of Aru, is the son of the Munduruku father Asmerindo with an Arara woman (Beleza, 2002:46). Besides the Munduruku from the plains, he was probably thinking of the many Munduruku still hiding at the Guaranatuba river under the leadership of the Munduruku chief Gonçalves, the Rebel commandant, said to be living at the

¹⁵⁸ “Defronte da foz do Canumã fica o Maué-Mirim, acima do qual três léguas entra o furo das Mucuras pela direita, e o Amãna-Paraná, ou rio das chuvas, onde habitam os Munduruku, que se comunicam com os das campinas de Santarém, e os Maué que tem a sua principal habitação no Curauay, dividem-se estes em diversas malocas, tomando, para serem conhecidos, os nomes de frutas e animais que prepoem ao gentílico, como sejam Mucura-tapuia, Jacaré-tapuia, Guaraná-tapuia”

¹⁵⁹ “Fácil é o descimento dos silvículos Mundurucus que habitam as campinas, porque tem relações domésticas com os Aldeados, uma vez que o Exmo Governo quisesse despender algum numerário nestas empresas de tanta utilidade futura”

Aubetury river, distant ten days from Ixituba (Uxituba) and from there ten more days walk on land¹⁶⁰.

Following the routes forged by the Guaraná trading began to be more usual and generally acceptable by people living either in Pará, Mato Grosso and Amazonas. When João Baptista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha assumed office as the President of the Amazonas, in 1852, for example, he continued travelling around the Province and happened to meet some Mawé Indians in Vila Nova. He remembers:

Just after I arrive in Villa Nova, entry place of the Province, a headmen of the Mawé nation, living in the Mamurú river, came to receive me complaining that the majority of their children were not baptized and they desire to be baptized in Villa Nova, the closest place from their villages (Relatório 1852: 19)¹⁶¹

Still according to Mattos, the river Guaranatuba was also occupied by the Mawé distributed in fifty different localities in a total of 300 Indians or more. Besides the locality of Mawés, the most important village at the time was Paricatuba with 22 houses (Menendez, 1992: 295).

Except on the Guaranatuba (an eastern affluent of the Maué-assú), where the Maués live, the Indians of all these rivers are Mundurucús, a tribe so well-known and so often written of that I need say little about them. Those on the Mawé-assú, below the rapids, are civilized, and live in families not as in tribe-life; and few under middle age are tattooed, excepting at Campineiros, the settlement next below the rapids, the people which (three or four

¹⁶⁰ APEP, Códice 1048. D. 45

¹⁶¹ “Logo porém que cheguei a Villa Nova, primeira Freguezia a entrada desta Provincia, foram receber-me os Principais Chefes (Tuxauas) da mesma Nação Maués, residentes no rio Mamurú, e me expuseram que grande parte de seus filhos ainda não tinha o primeiro sinal e nome de Cristãos que todos desejavam ter e pediam que se lhes permitisse o batismo em Vila Nova, que era o lugar mais próximo daquele de suas habitações”

families) are from the plains above, as the name implies (Chandless, 1870: 424)¹⁶²

In 1870, Chandless also mentions when visiting the Jutahy Munduruku in the Abacaxis river¹⁶³, that traders didn't pass much in the Abacaxis, although as we have seen, was already quite populated. Chandless says the navigation of the São Manuel was abandoned in favour of the Arinos-Juruena complex and recounts the history of *Mucajatuba*, a village on the left riverbank, just opposite the mouth of the São Tomé, saying it was established by Munduruku who came to work for two runaway slaves from Manaus:

At the foot of the Chacorão, on the left bank, is a village of Munduruku, whose country extends from the S.Manoel to near the amazon on the east of the Tapajós though most of their villages along the river are on the left bank (Chandless, 1862: 276).

There, he found a couple of Munduruku whom he took photos of in Manaus. Five years earlier, Agassiz stopped at this same place and described this Munduruku couple. He was the first who probably brought them to Manaus to take some pictures for his album. According to Agassiz they "came from a place twenty-days journey from Mawés to do business" (Agassiz, 301) and spoke only the *Lingua Geral*. When in Mawés, Agassiz also had the chance to visit a Munduruku seasonal house in *Mucajatuba* in the upper river inhabited by only 40 people. Brusque wrote that the Mawé had four villages in the Tapajós: Boburé, Tucunaré-Quara, Montanha, Urubutú and 25 between the Tapajós-Madeira (Brusque, Presidential Report: 1862).

According to Kruse's informants, stone drawings were made with *urucum* dye - a substance the natives called *sêrabururut*:

¹⁶² Interestingly enough, Chandless tells us a war story between a newcomer in the *Campineiros* village accused of witchcraft by his more civilised compatriots below (Chandless, 1870: 425)

¹⁶³ What is most impressive on the Paranary, according to Chandless, was the "Pedra do Barco" forming a large cave. When seen from above it seems like a ship at berth (Chandless, 1870: 421).

I saw the Arakurekabêkpi sêrabururut on August 20th when walking the path leading to Arakurekabêk and Parawarêktika. Crossing the Erereri valley, higher in the K(i)ricicewatpê plateau one of the interpreters showed me the legendary K(e)repotya mountains (Kruse, 1933)¹⁶⁴

Albert Kruse had the opportunity to explore the Kapikpi rock drawings, guided by his Munduruku helper when he was walking through the Munduruku territory. It is the place between the old Wakupari village and Dekodjem. According to him, the hero-creator Karo-Sakaibö, a historical figure, left the country of the Munduruku, leaving behind the drawings on the stones. The same entity known to the Munduruku as *Maraityuku* made the drawings either in *Kapikpik*, *Arakurekabêkpi*¹⁶⁵ and in the *Cantagalo* stones. According to another priest, the drawings on the stones of the Kerepotya waterfall were left when *Karusakaibö* came down to earth to create the mother of the fish. According to Kempf, the mother of the fish is one of many entities among others that are evoked during the winter in the Munduruku festivities in honor of hunting and agriculture (Kempf, 1952: 272).

The chestnut caterpillar is the *wenũjekpu* (Crofts, 605). *Xekpu* is the caterpillar from the caterpillar wood. The hollow wood was filled with different types of caterpillars (Tawe, 1977: 143). Crofts attest that another name to describe the *tapuru* ink is the noun *xektõm* (Crofts, 647). Indeed, in one of the stages during the Adai'Adai ceremony:

They remain just like genipapo. The remained. They remained just like men painted with genipapo. The women of the village also painted the faces, however with taporuzeiro ink. The head of the

¹⁶⁴ “Os sêrabururut de Arakurekabêkpi eu vi no dia 20 de agosto. Nós caminhamos na trilha que leva para Arakurekabêk e Parawarêktika. Passamos cruzando o vale do Erereri. Em cima no platô, K(i)ricicewatpê, um dos meus acompanhantes, me mostrou as montanhas distantes do lendário K(e)repotya” (Kruse, 1933)

¹⁶⁵ Araku is the aracu also known as the piaba fish (Inhering, 1968: 98 and 537).

children were also completely painted. The name of the ink was xektöm (Tawe et al, 1977: 130)¹⁶⁶

It is possible that the Munduruku Indians described in the literature as painted with black were not using genipapo, but taporu ink. The ink of the caterpillar is used not only to paint the Munduruku body, but also to mix with other elements to incarnate the adorned head of the hunted animals. The word *xekpu'ip* then, is used in reference to the caterpillar baton. In *Muraycoko juap*, he transforms himself into a larval form at the Serra of *Suabuddot'a*.

Peresoat slept under the caterpillars and was painted by them almost as *Muraycoko's* opposite when he painted the caterpillars in the Cantagalo stone:

He then slept under the lizards. Under the lizards he slept. The lizards were seated on him, making him dirty. They were making *Peresoatpu* dirty. He remained painted with their dirt all night long. When day came he looked at his own body, it was all painted. 'Look how many lizards there are up there! They have ruined me', he said (Tawe, 1977: 162)¹⁶⁷

Charles Hartt, in turn, worked in the Cambridge Museum together with Agassiz between the years 1862 to 1865. Already professor of Geology in Cornell, he organized an expedition with his students, leading him famously to discover the carbonic rocks present in the Tapajós river. When Couto de Magalhaes met Professor Hartt in Rio de Janeiro around the year 1876, both of them recognized the importance of having collected Munduruku myths. The first of them in the Mawés river, and the second on the Tapajos itself, as we have just seen:

¹⁶⁶ "Ficaram igual genipapo. Ficaram. Ficaram iguais homens pintados com genipapo. As mulheres também pintaram os rostos com tinta de taporuzeiro. As cabeças das crianças também estavam todas encarnadas com tinta de taporuzeiro. Xektöm era o nome da tinta"

¹⁶⁷ "Daí dormiu embaixo dos lagartos. Embaixo dos lagartos ele dormiu. Os lagartos estavam sentados (em cima) sujando ele. Estavam sujando *Peresoatpu*. Estava assim toda a noite. Ficou pintado em toda parte com a sujeira deles. De dia olhou para o corpo. Era todo pintado. – Olhe! Que são muitos lagartos lá em cima! Os lagartos me estragaram – disse"

I heard with great pleasure that he had found the same legends than I, but in the Tapajós, judging however, only to be ancient astronomical traditions of the Tupi family. I have not yet seen the great professor's collection, but what I can say for certain is that it is from another dialect and for this reason can offer the same stories written in a different text and so, fix its authenticity aiming for a general character (Couto de Magalhães, 1876: 203)¹⁶⁸

Couto de Magalhães is here pointing out to the important fact that there was a variation in dialect among the Mundurucu as one moves from one river to another. Hartt (1885) himself was not certain if the Tapajós Mundurucu were actually a Tupi speaking group (113) or perhaps mixed with the Juruna Aruak. Only when the SIL started to systematically study the Mundurucu language, in the second half of the 20th century, can we read that the Mundurucu from the Coatá region, Madeira affluent constituted a different dialect from the Mundurucu of the Cururu, a Tapajós affluent. Not only the vocabulary, but also grammatical and phonological differences appear (Crofts, 1967: 85).

Von den Steinen proposes that the *Yarumã* was a southern group part of the Mundurucu (Steinen, 1894: 230).

Thirty years later Tavares-Bastos would continue to say that a route existed by the Curauahy, an affluent of the Mawés between the Tatú port and the margins of the Tapajós. The path was approximately 70 Km long (14 léguas) (Tavares-Bastos, 1866: 238).

From the years 1826 to 1829, joining the Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff Expedition, the French Naturalist Hercules Florence met Mundurucu Indians, in three different places along the Tapajós river. The first place was in the Salto Augusto. Descending to Tocarizal, he met Mundurucu near the Furnas waterfall around the 20th of May 1828 and then again in the following months close to Santarém in the lower

¹⁶⁸ “Soube, com vivo prazer, que ele havia encontrado as mesmas lendas no Tapajós, julgando-as, entretanto, velhas tradições astronômicas da família tupi, motivo por que ele também coligira algumas. Ainda não vi a coleção do ilustre professor, sei porem, que é um outro dialeto, o que tem o grande mérito de oferecer algumas das mesmas historias em texto diferente daquele em que as encontrei, e de assim, fixar, não só sua autenticidade, como seu caráter de generalidade”

river. In his water colors he depicts the Munduruku as having their ears pierced in two places and connected by a cylindrical taboca earring and a little bit of hair in the round shape at the middle of the head leaving the rest of the hair long. Between the São Lucas and São Rafael waterfalls he found traces of a Munduruku camp and finally on June 13th he found groups of Munduruku and Mawé near the city of Itaituba on the Tapajos river.

Florence became well known in Germany because of Von den Steinen's dissemination of his drawings (1899) in which he remarks that they contain some important aesthetic differences when compared with the Munduruku drawings made by Martius in the Canumã more than ten years earlier. The Munduruku body painting described by Florence covers almost the entire human body and mixes different drawing patterns, while in Martius Atlas, says the author, it seems like an artificial unique tattoo with similar geometrical patterns (34-5). Also, in relation to the piercing of the ears, Martius mentions they do not pierce them at the bottom, but at the top.

Even before Florence's arrival, the artist Jean-Baptiste Debret was living in Brazil forming a part of what was called the Artistic Mission, where he took refuge in Rio de Janeiro together with the Portuguese Royal family, gathering material to produce his master piece *Voyage pittoresque* (1834-9). He was especially interested in drawing feather elements, bird plumes, musical instruments and indigenous faces. His drawings of indigous physiogamy, unlike Florence, were clearly inspired on Spix and Martius Atlas, the only model available at the time. Debret depicted, for example, a *Munuduruku* chief scepter made by big blue and red macaw tail feathers. He also drew a warrior that could be recognized by the great number of lines covering the whole surface of his body (Debret, 1978: 113). Debret's colored lithographs were also made based on his drawings of the Munduruku objects possessed by the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro and some Indians sporadically brought to the capital (Hartman, 1975).

The difference of the Munduruku drawings that can be recognized in the works of Debret and Florence show how different the Munduruku Indians could be depicted. Not only because Florence drew in perspective and Debret more naturalistically, but because the Indians living in the lower Tapajós around Santarém, and the ones circulating in the lower Madeira Jesuit missions where Spix and Martius met them, were completely different from the Munduruku living above the first Tapajós waterfalls, around what is now the city of Itaituba. Different migration scenarios could explain the

various indigenous compositions that were taking place along the Madeira-Tapajós. The Apiaká Indians were one alternative composition. The ones depicted by Florence (1826-9) were not that different from the ones Castelnau pictured in 1842. According to these images, the Apiaká men had the mouth painted in black with two thin parallel lines running from the mouth to the cheeks and to the chin. A thick black line was drawn vertically following the contours of the nose. The Apiaká depicted by Bossi (1863: 91), however doesn't show any particular body painting. Instead, it highlights the adornments used by these Indians, composed by armbands, a *tipóia* and mainly a crown (in sun format), a scepter and a spear.

After finding *Cabixi* Indians near *la Victoriana*, Bartolomé Bossi asked them to guide him to the Arinos and transpose the difficult and famous Salto Augusto waterfall, where he started meeting Apiaká Indians just below a place he named *Puerto de la Esperanza*. According to Steinen, Professor Peter Vogel was informed by another group of Indians (Aweti?) that at the source of the Tapajós lived the Kayapó as well as the Kabixi; an independent group of Indians who were part of the larger tamed Pareci (153). Marc Ferrez (1875) copied Bossi's model to take his *Indumentária indígena dos caciques Apiacá* photo. The Apiaká shared the Arinos territory with the Tapanhunas and the Bat Indians (*Murcielagos*) known by his night attacks.

By the time of the creation of the *Diretoria Geral dos Indios* of the Mato Grosso Province in the year 1846 we could have access to reported information saying that in the north of the province savage Indians in hiding, such as Cabixi, Pacá, Apiaká, Nambikwara, Arara, Caiabi, Barbado, Coroados, Tapanhuna and others who still lived in inter-tribal wars. The Apiaká, for example, fought a defensive war against the Nambikwara and Tapayunas, and the Mura were at war with the Arara (Barros, 1989: 220-1). At the Juruena, Tempesta (2008) believed the Apiaká (and Munduruku) were enemies of the Rikbaktsa at the beginning of the 20th century, but helped the, so called, *beijo de pau* (Tapayuna) when needed (6). Not only the Tapanyuna, but other Jê groups wandered and hunted in the woods around the upper Xingu river Basin (Holanda Pereira, 1967/1968: 226).

Finally, at the very end of the century, Coudreau found Apiaká Indians at the headwaters of the Tapajós, between the *São Simão* and the *Labirinto* waterfalls. Because of its magnitude, the São Simão was a kind of zoological limit which he needed the assistance of Indians to cross. He met with the rubber boss Paulo da Silva Leite, considered by the author to be the big boss of all the Apiaká Indians, and with

his help managed to arrive at the Apiaká village of *Labirinto* where a different group of Apiaká Indians lived under the leadership of the *tuxaua* José Gomes. After Labirinto, a little further, Coudreau passed the *Fortaleza* hills, and then arrived at the village of the Apiaká captain Benedito at São Florêncio. From Coudreau's illustration we can see that none of the Apiaká after São Simão were tattooed. Benedito Apiaká had black skin color, which is not strange, as this locality is close to the village of *Bananal Grande*, a place newly-built after disputes with the *Tapanhuna* Indians, some three years before the author's arrival (Coudreau, 1897: 107).

Florence mainly describes the presence of salsaparrilha extractors, but also of others *produtos do sertão* like cravo, guaraná and rubber. Tocarizal¹⁶⁹ is the first waterfall below the mouth of the Juruena after the huge Salto Augusto composing a set of innumerable waterfalls until one could reach Itaituba. This journey, only between the Salto Augusto and the Todos os Santos waterfall, is calculated by Ferreira Pena to be around 100 km. The Tapajós waterfalls are listed below. The information used to produce the table was gathered from William Chandless (1862), Ferreira Pena (1869), Barbosa Rodrigues (1875), Ernest Morris (1884) and Moreira Pinto (1899):

Table 2. Tapajós waterfalls (from Lower to upper river)

Tapajós Waterfalls (from Itaituba to Salto Augusto)		
Maranhãozinho	Maranhão Grande	Coatá
Furnas do Coatá	Trovão	Apuí
Santa Ana	Uruá	Tamanduá
Boburé (mouth of Jamanxim River)	Montanha	Acará
Mangabal	Boa Vista	Chacorão
Capoeiras	Airi	Todos os Santos
Salto S. Simão	Labirinto	S. Florencio
Misericórdia	Canal do Inferno	Banco de Santa Ursula)
Santa Iria	S. Raphael	S. Gabriel
Dobração	Saival	S. Lucas

¹⁶⁹ “Há aí uma árvore, que se encontra também no baixo Tapajós, denominada pelos Cuyiabanos Tucuri, que se emprega na fabricação de *ubãs*, que forma nos lugares banhados pelos rios bosques fechados” (Barbosa Rodrigues, 1975: 115)

Banquinho	Rebojo	As Ondas
Salsa	Furnas	Tocarizal
Salto Augusto	-	-

Florence's famous drawings in his 'album' depict a 'Tucháua (Principal) Mandurucú en costume de fête' in Santarém. What characterizes this tucháua is the headdress with a neck-cover attached, belt and garters with gaudy pendants, a scepter¹⁷⁰ or rhythm baton and a kind of mantle characterized by Martius as "one of the finest and most labour-intensive products of indigenous art" (Martius, 1867: 389). Inspired by Florence, Noemia Mourão beautifully depicts a Mundurucu Indian with his headdress perfectly showing the formation of a beard. She describes illustration 44 as "a Mundurucu warrior's festive regalia: The headdress, with a neck-cover attached, is of iridescent red and blue macaw feathers and is trimmed with tassels of black Mutum feathers. Blue and black feathers form a sort of beard. The body is striped with dark-blue genipap dye" (Mourão, 1971). We can see that aesthetic descriptions of Mundurucu show different Mundurucu groups only from the Tapajóis region.

Indigenous dispersal propiciated by the Bacabal Mission

Since the beginning, the Bacabal Mission consisted partially, of Mundurucu indians who had already been subjected to a similar experience led by Friar Egidio de Garezzio, 25 years earlier in Santa Cruz, Curi and Uxituba (Niggemeyer, 1925)¹⁷¹. The Franciscan Indian Director Frei Pelino de Castrovalva already knew the Mundurucu Indians living in the region because, not long before the foundation of the Mission, he

¹⁷⁰ The meaning of the sceptre is unknown (Zerries, .1980: 175).

¹⁷¹ Number of Indians residents in each Mission during three periods. From Niggemeyer (1925):

	1830	1848	1869
Uxituba	480 indians	343	100
Santa Cruz	536	402	200
Cury	996	299	-

had met a Munduruku group that had a commercial relationship with the white traders of the neighbouring Tapajós, in the locality of *Mergulhão* (Puetter, 1947: 38). According to Puetter, the first twelve Munduruku Indians and their chief, at the time, decided to accompany the missionary upriver believing that the priest:

Who they call chief cannot know and say all these things about the Munduruku history if he was not our ancestor's friend (Puetter, 1947: 40)¹⁷²

They walked until the Acará waterfall where about fifty Mawé had lived since the end of the previous century (Castrovalva, 2000: 81)¹⁷³ where they slept and in vain tried to convince the group to take part in the mission. It is possible that news ran fast among these Indians because later on some changed their minds and came from the Andirá to be present at the first Bacabal mass service. They went further up and after passing the Montanha waterfall reached their own village, close to the Crepori, a place the whites called *Igapoaasu*, 25km distant from Bacabal. Frei Pelino thought it would be a good idea to establish a new mission near the already contacted Munduruku Indians, a place he enthusiastically called “the big Munduruku city” established to celebrate the Munduruku warrior past, and contrast it to the circumstances the group found themselves living in as slaves of the rubber traders. The mission was the triumph of good over evil and would liberate the Indians to have economic and political autonomy (Amoroso, 224). The fever epidemic that came together with Frei Pelino quickly killed thirty Munduruku making the Indians distrust the priest.

In order to convince the Munduruku Indians to reunite again Frei Pelino, publically spoke of the warrior past of the group who bravely fought the Portuguese and was now scattered around in different bands with no relation with one another.

In effect, every year since the foundation of the Bacabal Mission, during the summer, Frei Pelino de Castrovalva saw nude savage Indians with long hair and a little tattooing on the face attacking rubber gatherers at the mouth of the Jamanxim river at the locality called *Igapó-Assú*, composed of the surrounding localities of *Jutaí*,

¹⁷² “A quem chamavam de chefe, não podia saber e dizer estas coisas sobre a historia dos Mundurucus se não fosse amigo de um de seus antepassados”

¹⁷³ Frei Pelino de Castrovalva before moving to Bacabal, had first founded his mission at *Igapó Assú* in one of the proprieties of Pedro Pinto (Coudreau, 48)

Montanha, Ponta Grossa, Igarapé-Assu and Boa Vista (Mello Filho, 1878: 102)¹⁷⁴. For Niggemeyer, these were all big indigenous villages Friar Antonino was in charge (Niggemeyer, 1925).

The Munduruku Indian José da Gama was appointed by Frei Pelino as the chief responsible for organizing the Bacabal Mission's security:

This José da Gama captain, known by the priest, was the headmen of an ancient settlement at the Tapajós margins and came with all his people to the Bacabal Mission. His indigenous name is Mari-Baxi (Tocantins, 1877: 108)¹⁷⁵

Mari-Baxi was the chief of the Bacabal Mission private army. When Frei Pelino was absent he was the one in charge of things (Coudreau, 1895: 140). He was a tall and muscular Indian distinguished by having his face and whole body tattooed with black lines crossing each other at right angles. He became the main executioner of Frei Pelino, charged with governing the mission when Pelino was away, and punishing by sorcery possible competitors, which probably explains how he acquired the status of captain in the region. He could manifest this status by wearing an American military soldier's cap¹⁷⁶. The term captain was given by the SPI, later on, to certain individuals, who from then on would assume a position of leadership in the community, as well as initiating contact with other villages in the territory (Oakdale, 2014: 219)¹⁷⁷.

Mari-Baxi commanded just ten men wearing white clothes and hats who patrolled from the four in the afternoon to eight at night to keep away the *regatões* who

¹⁷⁴ Unfortunately we don't have much more information about the Mission of Uarará, mentioned in this same report as being localized in the upper Tapajós, as we read: "Conta 50 índios da tribu Maués. Diz o Diretor que há no centro das matas muitos outros aldeamentos da mesma tribo, calculando em 1500 a 1600 o número de índios ali existentes. Ocupam-se exclusivamente na extração dos produtos naturais" (Mello Filho, 1878: 103). What we do know, however, is that steamboat navigation was done, since 1879 by the Companhia do Amazonas between Belém, Juruti and Itaituba.

¹⁷⁵ "Este capitão José da Gama de quem fala o padre missionário foi cacique de um antigo aldeamento que existia a margem do Tapajós e veio com toda a sua gente para a Missão do Bacabal. Seu nome indígena é Mari-Baxi"

¹⁷⁶ E. Morris (1884) believed it was the propriety of a certain Colonel Mansfield but was not able to verify his identity.

¹⁷⁷ Luana Almeida (2010) mentions the term "capitão forte". Burkhalter strangely adds that at the time of Murphy's research, the figure of the captain did not exist.

wanted to sell alcohol to the Indians. He was the captain of the Bacabal Mission, according to information given to father Kruse when he was at Itaituba in the year of 1933. He was called a captain because he had government credentials and functioned as the police of the mission, chasing the *regatoes* (Kruse, 1933)¹⁷⁸.

On March 25th 1878 a Mangabal *Tuxaua* Indian, living in the Mission, was hunting at a four day distance from the Bacabal mission and reported trying to speak with what he called the Parintins Indians, but they hardly seemed to understand what he was saying (Castrovalva, 2000: 185). In that same year attacks were reported at the house of rubber traders José Maria and Antonio Baixote. On the occasion of another robbery, this time at the house of Maximiano da Silva, an ax was stolen. Attacks by this unknown tribe went on at least until 1883. He reports:

When I left around nine I saw at a glance a man's head appear in between the bananas, but quickly hidden in the plants again. When I turned to see the face again it was gone. Afraid, I thought it could be an illusion. But shortly after I foresaw mutterings and turning around I saw two humans naked armed with bow and arrow coming towards me. I shouted in terror, grabbed my little son and jumped in the river swimming desperately. My friend seeing what was happening did the same. Already distant from the house we floated to the mission (Castrovalva, 2000: 183)¹⁷⁹

According to Frei Pelino, the issue only began to be solved by the appearance of the Munduruku Commander *Mari-Baixi* "who knew three or four idioms"

¹⁷⁸ Almost arriving at the mouth of the Cururu, Brasil and Kruse mention also the Maloca of the Munduruku José Elpídio.

¹⁷⁹ "Tendo eu saído pelas 9 horas, vi, no meio do bananal contíguo a casa, aparecer a cabeça de um homem que ao ver-me, se escondeu rápido no meio das plantas. Eu cheia de medo torno a olhar, mas não tendo visto mais nada, pensei que podia ser uma ilusão. Pouco tempo depois pressinto como um murmúrio, e eu pobre de mim, vejo aparecer dois rostos humanos, gente nua, armados de arco e flecha que avançava para mim. Dei um grito de terror e precipitei-me para o meu filhinho, peguei-o e lancei-me no rio nadando desesperadamente; a minha companheira que ouviu os meus gritos seguiu o meu exemplo. Ao partirmos da praia pudemos agarrar uma barquinha, e como flutuasse, nós a conduzimos, ao alto do rio, onde tendo nos distanciado da casa já cansadas de nadar fomos até a missão"

(Castrovalva, 2000: 191)¹⁸⁰ and could then translate for each Munduruku group. He was the organizer of the war expedition against the *Parintintim* recounted by this same missionary near the locality of *Igapó-assú*. It is not strange, then, to read that Smith, around the same time, remarked on a friendship he made with a Mangabal Indian who presented him with a Parintintim arrow obtained in war:

Near our camping-place, at Mojigubaly we visit a house, where the owner shows us two curious arrows. They were obtained about sixty miles above here, at the falls of the Tapajos, and there is a bloody little history attached to them. Some weeks before, wild Indians (said to be Parentintins; but the nomenclature of these wandering tribes is hopelessly confused) attacked a settler's family and killed one of the women; but they were driven off before they could do more harm. These arrows were picked up at the house after this attack. They are of exquisite workmanship; the head of bone, wound on tightly with some kind of thread; the feathering of beautiful macaw- plumes. Yet these wild tribes have not a single iron tool to work with. We hint our desire to buy the arrows, but our host at once presents them to us, and will hear of no remuneration (Smith, 1879: 243)

For Coudreau, in the Bacabal mission there were only civilized Munduruku Indians, who numbered around six hundred, who had already worked with the white man.

For Nimuendaju, the group attacking Frei Pelino's Misison was *Curuaia*, misunderstood by the *Parintintim*, as the tribe making attacks on the neo-Brazilians in the Jamanchim river. Curuaia bands went through the rubber forests of the Crepori and Cadiriri Rivers until 1895. These were called *Wiaunen* (Wiaunyen or *Huiaunyan*) by the Munduruku (Nimuendaju, 1948: 221).

Gama Malchner believed the Uiainhene shared the Munduruku language and culture and lived in an affluent of the Tropas river called the *white river*, which would

¹⁸⁰ The book is a compilation of episodes originally published in the *Annali Francescani*, Milano number 10, from May 1883 to May 1884 under the title: "Un missionário nel Brasile. Racconto storico".

be identified by Kruse (1935) as the *Mutum*. Together with them, however, there were also around seventeen more groups of Indians circulating in the interfluvium of the Jamanchim-Crepori, as suggested by the description of Gonçalves Tocantins in the year of 1875:

Because they live at the borders, the Munduruku have often crossed from the Tapajós to the upper Xingu valleys. They give notice of the other indigenous people they meet on their treks, not only on the banks of the Xingu but also to the other side, at the frontier of the Mato Grosso (Tocantins, 1875: 97)¹⁸¹

In the second report produced by President Araujo Brusque, eleven names were mentioned for the Xingu Indians, they were: Jurunas, Tucunapeuas, Juaicipoias, Urupayas, Curiaias, Peopaias, Taua-tapuiará, Tapuia-eretê, Carajas-mirim, Carajás-pocús, Xipócas (Brusque, 1863: 15)

When asked by Abel Graça, the engineers A.M. Gonçalves Tocantins and J.H. Correia de Miranda mention that the Munduruku lived on the right bank of the Tapajós between the waterfalls. However, on the left bank of the Boburé, there was once a Munduruku settlement that was moved to the opposite bank because of attacks by the Parintintim. They give their names:

Hidden in between the waterfalls we found the Munduruku villages of Boburé, Montanha, Maloquina, Ponta Grossa, Rato, Curuçá, Babacal, Boa-Vista, Jacaré-canga, Iry, and others (Tocantins e Miranda, 1872)¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ “Os Munduruku têm muitas vezes passado do vale do Alto Tapajós para o Alto Xingu, pois reside quase juntos a linha de divisão destes dois vales. Eles dão notícia dos gentios que encontram nestas excursões, não somente pelas margens do Alto Xingu, mas também pelo lado das fronteiras do Mato Grosso”

¹⁸² “Entre as cachoeiras encontram-se as malocas Mundurucús, denominadas Boburé, da Montanha, da Maloquina, Ponta Grossa, Rato, Curuçá, Babacal, Boa-Vista, Jacaré-canga, Iry, etc.”

The Bacabal Mission, located almost at the junction with the *igarapé do Rato* was to be considered the center of apostolical work for the Indian labor of the Mato-Grosso plateau because of the wandering tribes still unknown to many. At least this was the main conclusion of the President of Pará João Capistrano Bandeira de Mello Filho, after reading Gonçalves Tocantin's report.

Of the utmost importance to the prosperity of this place are the products collected by the Indians. We need to have the benefit of and regulate their work funding missions or provisory settlements near the Bacabal increasing their population (Mello Filho, 1877: 165)¹⁸³

Taking the *Ratão* river to the east, as it was called by adventures in the second half of the eighteenth century, a route connected the Jamanxim with the *Rio Novo*, close to the Xingu (Morris, 1884). In front of the Crepori mouth, more permanently, were the Munduruku and Mawé villages on the Tapajós section, a place where the main waterfalls are called Jauarité, Pacú, Curimatá, Jacaré and Cuicuiapé (Moreira Pinto, 1894: 594)¹⁸⁴. Barbosa Rodrigues makes a census of the current and defunct Munduruku village:

We can count the following villages in geographical order: Cury, Santa Cruz, Uxituba (with semi-civilized indians), Boburé, two at the Montanha waterfall, Igapó, Mangabal headwaters, Bacabal, Boa Vista (below the Pacú), Chacorão, Capoeiras and the Iri. The most populous one is the Bacabal and some are already extinct such as the one from the Jamanxim mouth and one in the middle of the Mangabal waterfall. Few villages have the Mawé on that region because, chased by the Munduruku, they took refuge in the interiors, even if the families we can still find at Boia-açú, Urubutu

¹⁸³ “De máxima importância para a prosperidade desta Província, cujos produtos são colhidos quase exclusivamente pelos índios. Convém aproveitá-los o mais possível e regularizá-los devidamente, fundando missões ou aldeamentos próximos ao do Bacabal ou aumentando a população deste”

¹⁸⁴ For Barbosa Rodrigues (1875: 121) the name Cuicuiápe means row, in the Munduruku language

and Acará are few and far between. We can estimate the Munduruku population at 1200 people and the Munduruku at 500 (Barbosa Rodrigues, 1875: 124)¹⁸⁵

At the time of the expeditions of Barbosa Rorigues, however, the name Munduruku was more commonly heard in the Tapajós, mainly because of the Bacabal Mission and the aggregation of Munduruku it represented. In January 1875, Sá e Benevides received the following report about the Munduruku:

For many years they entertained a useful and valuable trade with dealers in Santarém and Itaituba. A great quantity of nuts, salsa, rubber, guaraná and other products came almost entirely from the Tapajós supplied by the Munduruku (Azevedo, 1875: 58)¹⁸⁶

In 1875, Keller Leuzinger found three or four Munduruku cottages, on the Lower Madeira, but suspected their chief seats were on the Mauhés and the Tapajóz rivers. He illustrates well the vision of indigenous groups as European-style nations with centralized power and colonies. It was strange, then, to see these advanced posts changing location from one year to the other. Was there an indigenous political organization at the time? For the missionaries of earlier colonial Brazil, villages could be identified as pertaining to some specific group because of similar cultural traits (framed externally) but, as we have seen, they hardly believed they were subjected to a central power. During the 19th century the impression from the travelers' writings is that they recognized the group was chiefly concentrated in some specific region, but

¹⁸⁵ "Contam-se as seguintes malocas, por ordem geográfica: Cury, Santa Cruz, Uxituba (nestas os índios estão semi-civilizados), Boburé, duas na cachoeira da Montanha, Igapó, na cabeceira da Mangabal, Bacabal, Boa Vista (abaixo do Pacú), Chacorão, Capoeiras e as do Iri. A mais populosa destas é a do Baccabal, havendo algumas extintas, como a da embocadura do Juanxim, e a do meio da cachoeira Mangabal. Poucas malocas contam os Mauhés ahi, porque, perseguidos outrora pelos Mundurucus, refugiaram-se para o interior, entretanto além de algumas famílias dispersas, encontram-se as malocas: Boia-açú, Urubutu, e Acará. Póde-se calcular a população ahi dos primeiros em 1.200 almas e a dos segundos em 500"

¹⁸⁶ "Desde muitos anos entretém eles um comércio útil e valioso com os negociantes de Santarém e Itaituba. A grande quantidade de castanhas, salsa, borracha, guaraná, etc. procedentes do Tapajós é quase exclusivamente fornecida pelos Munduruku"

still did not understand the connections between them and the smaller groups spread elsewhere. If not centralized, the visions of a unitary power function through a very European vision of one group dominating and ruling a specific territory alone. Inside this imagined empire, they thought, it was impossible for new forms of political power to emerge and so one had to substitute the other, like the life cycle of death and regeneration:

The Mundrucus have long abandoned their supremacy on the Madeira. They left this river even before the Conquest, I believe, to another powerful tribe, the Araras, who also nowadays are not held in the same fear as they were formerly (Keller-Leuzinger, 1875: 139)

According to C. Niggemeyer, in 1881, the Bacabal Mission declined in part owing to a smallpox epidemic. In that same year Frei Pelino left the mission (Niggemeyer, 1925). Frei Antonino de Albano would stay one more year, when officially, the Bacabal Mission was extinguished in 1882. The Aripuanã river was a key point in this transition. When Rondon was in the Machadinho river, for example, he heard the first stories of rubber tappers going up the Aripuanã, during the year 1879 reaching the *castanha river*, a name given by the ancient *campineiros* nation, who he thought were the Munduruku themselves (Rondon, 1915: 125). Gonçalves Tocantins already called the Munduruku of the upper Tapajós as a type of Campineiro Indians. So, in the last quarter of the 19th century, if one went navigating Madeira upriver after passing Borba and crossing the Uautá *paraná miri* one would pass a group of islands called sequentially by the names Mandiúba, Carapanatuba, Jacaré, José João until one reached the mouth of the Aripuanã. Between the Aripuanã and the Matuará many different islands could be seen. The largest of these were called Ilha das Araras and Ilha Uruá. The Matuará river flows into the Tupinambarana (Bernardino de Souza, 1873: 125). Since the previous century we can see that expeditions following that route had to face Mura territory. Bernardino de Souza explains this shortcut in detail and can assure us that it was possible to quickly go from the lower to the upper Madeira only by following the Canumã headwaters. This interesting indigenous strategy of movement was only possible because of the accurate knowledge native groups had of their territory. This historical example also shows that the contrast

between river banks and backlands is still waiting to be better described in the literature. The savannah fields, despite not having the same forestry vegetation as the rainforest, allowed the groups to choose which river source they might take when going from one place to another. It is not strange to hear that Mura appeared to be in more than one place at the same time.

It is possible that around this same time, the Rikbaktsa migrated east, from the Aripuanã, fearing the attacks of the Cinta-Larga. They were also a mobile group during the dry season who occupied an extensive territory and knew the name of other Indian groups in all of these directions (Hahn, 1981: 86).

It was not only the fighting between Frei Pelino de Castrovalva and the *regatões* that initiated the end of the Bacabal Mission. Since its foundation, bosses had Munduruku Indians as forced employees, as is the case with the Tocantins of Manoel Quirino Paes in 1871. A big smallpox epidemic dispersed the Munduruku from the Mission. After the disassembling of the Bacabal Mission, the Munduruku living there went to live at the mouth of the Crepori river (Castrovalvas, 2000: 224).

Coudreau described the Bacabal Mission as colliding with the islands of Igapó-Assú where the main house of the rubber trader Pedro Pinto stood. Around 30 Munduruku Indians worked for him, but actually lived much more in the wilderness where the “most septentrional Munduruku village of the Tapajós was located (Coudreau, 48-51).

The “Boa Nova” catholic newspaper, at the time, taking Frei Pelino’s part in the polemic dispute with the *regatões*, mentioned that during the year 1876, 53 nude savages Munduruku left the central villages in the Campinas to establish themselves in the Bacabal¹⁸⁷. Just after the foundation of the Mission he published in the “Apostolo”, the reasons why he had chosen the Munduruku:

Settling the ones that scare the others it will be easier to settle all the other nations wandering in the forests. One hundred Mawé already promised to follow me. After them, , Apiaká, Joarité, Bororo, Morcegos, Iptiuát, Tupadululút, Paliptendé, Ipinambié,

¹⁸⁷ Jornal “A Boa Nova”. Anno VII, Num. 35. Sábado 5 de Maio de 1877. Pp. 2.

Titituát, Piriaá, Tiurá, Atenhoué, Palibitatá, and others will come the Parintintin¹⁸⁸

Conclusion:

Groups are composed of distinct small units that take different routes, but for some reason, appear to be part of the same whole. More broadly, this thesis aims to describe the crossing of paths and how people enter in contact with one another. Living side by side between two (or more) forms of life, this region of river dwellers, in this sense, is always construed along the paths of observation as much as periodic movement allows. Once one is aware of the path people are taking one can make an experience out of it. People can be seen as visiting places (or escaping from other people) for one motive or another. The world, however, is open-ended and becomes real only in marching (Vergunst, 2010: 380). The rhythm of life is here also a meshwork of various rhythmic flows (Krause, 2010: 267)

¹⁸⁸ “Aldeados estes que são o terror e espanto dos outros, se tornará menos difícil o aldeamento das outras nações, que bem numerosas e povoadas a dam vagueando pelas florestas. Já cem da tribu Maués, depois de calorosas instâncias, prometeram seguir-me em meu regresso. Depois destas duas nações, gradualmente serão objeto das nossas atenções os Parentindins, Apiacá, Joarité, Bororó, Morcegos, Iptiuát, Tupadululút, Paliptendé, Ipinambié, Titituát, Piriaá, Tiurá, Atenhoué, Palibitatá, etc”. A missão do Tapajoz. Belém, 20 de Julho de 1872. In: “O Apostolo”. Domingo. 1º de Setembro de 1872. See also “continuei minha derrota por uns 16 dias, e engrossando cada dia o meu sequito cheguei até as Campinas. Naqueles vastíssimos campos achei grande número de índios nús e erradios (...) “me prometeram todos que viriam, o que se pode realizar em outra viagem” (pp. 4). In: “Missione Lung oil Fiume Iapajoz. Provincia del Gran Pará”. Pp. 524-527. Annali Francescani. Periodico Religioso. Anno IV, Vol. IV. Milano. 1873.

THIRD PART: THE ROUTES OF CREATION AT THE TAPAJÓS SAVANNAH



Figure 3 - Ponta Fina Port on the Sucunduri river. Source: Manoel Tiburcio Cavalcanti. Rondon expedition (1914-28). (In: Denise Portugal Lasmar, 2011),188.

CHAPTER 4: FOLLOWING THE FRANCISCANS IN THE RUBBER AVENUES

“Before, the Munduruku owned the land. Now everything is from the Mission”¹⁸⁹ Frei Plácido, 1915

Introduction:

By the beginning of the 20th century the Tapajós river itself was relatively well-known, but the small rivers composing its interfluvium were still *terra incognita* for the white man. Indigenous families had been divided for different reasons, all of them caused by two centuries of white penetration in the region. Many groups living on the riverbanks migrated inland, altering group composition incessantly and, thus, changing group names. This chapter will dwell especially on Hugo’s Mense Diary, original material collected at the Franciscan Archive in Recife. It will also be supported by some information provided by Coudreau and the Rondon Commission in order to understand how, in the Tapajós’s fields, groups remained in contact, sending and receiving information coming from the Tapajós riverbanks where the Cururu Mission was installed. We will observe the concern of the Franciscan priests to visit the faraway villages of the Munduruku, the difficulty they had in arriving there, and their need to understand indigenous ways of moving and significance of the territory.

The Triangulation Maici-Aripuanã-Três Casas

The mobility of the groups within the area of study can be better perceived if we take a brief look at the process of pacification of the Parintintin Indians, which was

¹⁸⁹ Antes a terra era toda dos mundurucanos, mas agora é tudo da Missão

especially intense during the years 1924 to 1926. Since the beginning of the century, rubber bosses had been intensifying the penetration of the rivers Maicy and Maicy-Mirim in search of rubber gatherer slaves, pressing the Parintintin to migrate. When Nimuendaju was establishing himself in the Maicy-Mirim river with the aim of pacifying the Parintintin he received visits from different groups of Indians, some of them coming by land following trails which led to the backyards of the *Posto*, while others came bearing the igarapé on the 9th of January, navigating in bark canoes. They seemed to be mainly concerned about the direction Nimuendaju had taken as if it would influence the direction in which they set off themselves:

One of them asked whether the official had come from the Caiary (Madeira) above or from below and how his land was called having the respondent answer that he came from below and that his land was faraway in the direction of the rising sun (Gondim, 1925: 34)¹⁹⁰

He noticed many ancient *varadouros* helping these Indians to make the transit from the woods to the center of the rubber properties at the Madeira riverbanks such as the Três Casas, Padua and Paraíso. All of this land, as we saw previously, was the territory of the Mura. To go there, they had to pass different landscapes along the way and surmount small rivers they already knew. Manuel de Sousa Lobo, proprietor of the *seringal Três Casas* at the JiParaná, was extending his possessions in the South and Southeast directing his explorations to the Maici Basin, but also to the Aripuanã and Ipixuna (Pereira, 1980: 542). In September 1923, a group of Parintintins appeared in the Três Casas property where they were given clothes and stayed enjoying the seringal activities for 3 days before being conducted back to their villages. During the year 1942 a severe measles epidemic devastated the Curru Mission brought by Manuel de Souza Lobo (Sioli, 1954: 39). This is further another unfortunate evidence,

¹⁹⁰ “Um deles indagou se o auxiliar tinha vindo de cima ou de baixo do Caiary (Madeira) e como se chamava a terra dele, tendo o interpelado respondido que chegara de baixo do Caiary e que sua terra ficava muito longe do lado do sol nascente”

as with the encounters that took place twenty years previously, of the intensification of indigenous and white circulation between rivers as a result of the rubber boom.

In fact, as we saw, in the previous century the Manicoré region was dominated by Mura and Munduruku Indians. With the rubber explosions and the associated torture of Indians, many small groups, sometimes even nuclear families, began to disperse along some of the upper right affluents of the Madeira, such as the Machado, Madeirinha, Ipixuna, Ji-Paraná, Maici and Marmelos where the Rondon Commission found many groups. Besides the Três Casas, the São Paulo rubber property also influenced indigenous population. Nicolau Bueno Horta Barbosa found Rama-rama at the Machadinho in 1918.

In the Maici, they found 191 Pirahã Indians under the leadership of captain Porfírio. It was they who accompanied him in his survey on the Marmelos. These included Faustino and Vicente, two Pirahã chiefs from the Posto Indígena on the lower Maici.

A conglomerate of names and the lack of knowledge about the different languages made it appear they could all pertain to the same group. The only thing they had in common, though, at that point was that they all hunted in the Marmelos-Maici region.

Nimuendaju could only collect *Matanawi* (or *Matanaué*) words near the Marmellos, because, in the past, part of this group was driven out of the Castanha by the *Munduruku* Indians. He was probably talking about the *Matanawi* group living in the locality called Terra Preta before the arrival of the Rondon Expedition. The valley of the Roosevelt (former Castanha) is slightly separated from the JiParaná valley (former Machado) by the Serra da Providência, the range of mountains where the Marmelos were born. This interconnection of some of the Madeira tributaries facilitated the relations between different groups, giving rise to sometimes unexpected social compositions. The Matanawi group could be exemplified as the intermingling of different inhabitants, and Rondon tries to explain how this occurred:

In the western part of the basin of the river Marmellos the Parintintins Indians live, their villages extending towards the Ji-Paraná and are not far from the Madeira; a little further up we meet the Urupá, the Araruna, the Mura, the Torá and the Matanawi Indians. Still from the same ridges of the river Tarumã,

the waters of a feeder of the Ji descend, at the headwaters of which the Urumi Indians built their villages (Rondon, 1916: 126).

Nimuendaju believed moreover that at the beginning of the 19th century the *Munduruku* expelled the *Matanawi* from their original lands in the upper Tapajós causing them migrate to the West where they made an alliance with the Torá of the Marmelos river. This Torá were remnants of the Maici area, where, at least from the previous century, they occupied the Machado and Marmellos river (Nimuendaju, 1923: 221; Nimuendaju, 1925: 143). The upper river Roosevelt, however, was only explored from 1879 onwards, when the rubber tappers, especially one by the name Raymundo Gato, decided to go beyond the confluence with the Aripuanã. He could only find Campineiro Indians, who he thought, as we have just seen, were none other than Munduruku. Further up the Aripuanã was also considered closed to the rubber tappers because of the Arara Indians. For this reason, many of them chose to take his affluent, which had been inhabited by the Guariba, but which by this time was inhabited by less hostile Mura Indians (Rondon, 1916: 130).

Apparently, the Mura from the Matuará river had remained there since the Lacerda e Almeida Expedition. The SPI found them, during an intense exploration of nut trees in the 1920s. Historically, the Serra da Providência saw the circulation of some indigenous groups generally known by the word *Karo*, like the *Arara*, *Ramarana*, *Urukú* and *Itogapuk*, who circulated freely between the Madeira and Branco rivers (Müller, 1995: 108. See also Schultz, 1955)¹⁹¹. Those hills are not alone and constitute a mountainous landscape together with the Apiacás Hill between the Teles Pires and the Juruena, and the North mountain range dividing the Juruena itself with the Aripuanã. As happens in other secluded and hilly places like in the Papua New Guinea, a small geographical area could house a plurality of indigenous groups.

The 19th century Amazon river and its tributaries, already contained a large quantity of boats and sailing vessels at its margins. The *Brazilian Company of Packages a Vapor* was created in 1837 connecting the outermost Provinces of Pará and Amazonas to the South of the Empire, but was already competing with French, German and British Companies such as the Red Cross and Booth Lines. This last

¹⁹¹ Today, the Karo are recognized as being the Arara of the Igarapé Lourdes, in Rondonia, near the Ji-Paraná/Machado river.

company would assume the monopoly of the transportation of goods from abroad. Coastal navigation was done by the *Lloyde Brasileiro*. Despite commercial navigation not being as well developed in the Madeira and the Tapajós as it was in the Juruá and Purus, with the increasing importance of the rubber industry in the second half of the century, the Amazon Steam Navigation Company ships reached Itaituba and Maués. The companies offered a connection between the city of Manaus and the international ports of Liverpool and New York. Provincial commerce rocketed, especially during the wet season when rubber had already been tapped and was ready to be exported even from little rivers that were only accessible at this time of the year. In fact, the main Amazonian tributaries could carry very little weight because of the small depth of the upper course of the rivers, usually during the ebb tide, forcing the use of other types of boats like the *chatinhas*, for example.

The Itaituba steamers or boats left Belém twice a month and took 12 days for the round-trip. On this itinerary, the villages of Santarém, Urucurituba, Brasília Legal, Itaituba and the island of Goyania appeared as important ports. Santa Julia, or Mawés only received a monthly steamer which also stopped at Santarém before taking a divergent route for the Trombetas. Santarém then grew, around this time, haunted by different ethnic groups coming either from the Trombetas, the Tapajós or the Madeira. All the steamers sailing from Belém to the Madeira, Purus and to Iquitos, in Peru, called at Manaus on the way up and down (Amazon, 1904: 52). Connection with the Madre de Dios, Beni and Mamoré rivers was made through Bolivia, by land with Guajará Mirim, beyond the Santo Antonio waterfalls where the rapids made geography impassible for steamers. Batelões had to substitute them and cargo had to be hauled for a long distance overland. Above Manaus, once a month a boat was obliged to stop at the ports of call of Canumã, Borba, Vista Alegre, Aripuanã, Santa Roza, Manicoré, Bom Futuro, Carapanatuba, Três Casas, Cintra, Humaitá and São Francisco, which started to be considered important ports for steamboat navigation from November to April each year¹⁹². From the Madeira tributaries, the Aripuanã (and the Roosevelt) was navigable for the longest distance, but started to be obstructed by insurmountable cataracts at a high point known as *Bispo Aquino*.

¹⁹² “The Great River, Notes on the Amazon and its tributaries and the steamer services”. London. pp. 57. 1904.

The more technology the boats had, the more capacity and load they possessed for transporting rubber and merchandise. This, in turn, attracted rower Indians who began to receive a regular salary, invariably paid in goods. As the shipping prices of the navigation companies became more expensive, the participation of indigenous crewmen also grew. Just to give an example of how fast rubber fomented Amazonian changes, in 1888, even without a shipyard, 106 crafts circulated in the Amazon region. The following year, this number jumped to 368 vessels including little watercrafts and canoes, but also: schooners, rafts, brigs, bages, corvettes, and other local names such as *igarités*, *gaiolas*, *goletas* and *chalupas*.

The *Sapucaiaoroca*¹⁹³ mission was founded in 1827 at the left bank of the Madeira with Mura, Munduruku, Arara and Arupa Indians (Menendez, 1991: 289) and by the middle of the century it was already functioning normally. According to Victor Hugo, in 1853, from Sapucaia to the Machado river one could find three villages: one Munduruku (near Sapucaiaoroca), one Mura (between Sapucaiaoroca and the Aripuanã) and the third with Mura and Munduruku Indians (Hugo, 1991: 127). The city of Humaita was founded in 1869 by the rubber-boss José Francisco Monteiro who controlled the commercial relations between Indians and *seringueiros* in the region (Almeida, 1981).

In 1857, Angelo Thomaz do Amaral reported that on the tenth of May, a group of forty Munduruku Indians, followed by their *tuxaua*, came from Campinas and established themselves in a recently-created Munduruku village along the mouth of the river Aripuanã. The river, according to him, was surrounded by Arara, Matanaús, Ariês, Canga-piranga and *Jauarité*¹⁹⁴ Indians (Amaral, 1857: 23). The lower Aripuanã formed a peculiar landscape. Different lakes communicated with one another by what were generally called *furos*, but in the Rio Negro were known locally as *parana-miri*. These facilitated access from one side of river to another. The Munduruku came to be established in the Aripuanã after crossing the Campinas on foot, seeing that all the

¹⁹³ The *Sapucaia* is a tree whose bark is mainly used in the naval industry. ‘Dizem os índios que pouco abaixo do lugar em que se acha assentada Sapucaia-Oroca existiu, outrora, uma povoação muito maior do que esta e que um dia desapareceu da superfície da terra, sepultando-se nas profundidades do rio (Octaviano Pinto, 1930: 176).

¹⁹⁴ One of the Crepori river waterfalls is called Jauarité, Jaguar. Tocantins observes that for the Munduruku the *Uiraraoáte* are the jaguar nation, because “urram como este animal” (Tocantins, 1875: 97). Yuri, according to Kruse, is the Jaguar clan. Is it possible that the Jaguar Indians migrated from the Crepori to the Aripuanã?

Madeira riverbanks were inhabited by the Mura at this period. They appeared downriver, in Sapucaia almost until Borba, above the Aripuanã until the Marmelos river. The Madeira river, one could say, was dominated by Mura Indians who developed easy communication with one another. Close to the mouth of the Aripuanã lived a Mura tuxaua called Severino, who gave the name to his village. Apparently, when still young Severino was baptized in Borba, together with many other indigenous chiefs, close to the Mandis island. Severino, together with the villages of Matupiri, Jatuarána, Capaná, Baetas, Santo Antonio Lake and Três Casas, all formed a constellation of Mura villages in the upper Madeira (Sousa, 1848: 427). But according to cônego Francisco Bernardino de Souza, Sapucaiaoroca was not an ordinary place. Sapucaiaoroca, meant poulterer, in *Lingua Geral*. It was given because the Muras used to hear roosters cackle in the middle of the silent night. This gossip was nothing more than the protectors of the Mura spirits, warning them about what had happened in the past. In the ancient past, Sapucaiaoroca was inhabited by unmannered and lascivious Indians, also called Mura, who because of their disobedience to the *angaturaimas*, disappeared under the earth a long time ago (Bernardino de Souza, 1873: 124, n. 1).

This practice of collective baptism in the lower missions is something we hear many times in the historical literature, but of which there is little discussion in anthropology. What can perhaps be said is that indigenous chiefs were first attracted by the missions and then after getting what they wanted, came back to their own villages spread around the inlands of the forest.

The Jaurité group was probably Castelnau *Jahuariti-Tapuyos* living at the left bank of the Arinos/Juruena river until the *Todos os Santos* waterfall. From then on, at the same bank the *Parintintim* extended its territory until the São Manuel. On the same right bank, conflicts were common between the *Parabitas* and the *Nambikwara* (Castelnau, 1851: 100). Four years earlier, the S. Pedro d'Alcantara mission was created between the Machado and the Aripuanã and was surrounded by many wild Indians. The hope of the ecclesiastical authorities was that this investment could follow the prosperous Andirá Mission not far from there (Matos, 1856: 130). Founded in

1848, the Mission of Andirá (or Vila Nova) had the capuchin Pedro de Ceriana as its missionary and was occupied by 665 baptized Mawé Indians in 1852¹⁹⁵.

The Aripuanã could be seen from above as the line of division in the map, between the two big savannah areas in the Tapajós and Madeira interfluve. The first one collides with the upper Tapajós, close to the Juruena-Teles Pires delta, while the other forms with the Roosevelt and Machado what is now popularly known as the Campos Amazonicos National Park. It is in this area that archaeologists, linguists and ethnographers in a joint effort are still trying to understand the so called 'dispersal centers'. For the Tupi¹⁹⁶, Métraux suggested that their center of origin must have been somewhere between the Tapajós and the Xingu Basin:

From my point of view, the Tupi dispersion centre could be localized at the upper courses of the Tapajós basin or even in the Xingu (Métraux, 1928: 310)¹⁹⁷

Métraux remarks, based on Nimuendaju, that the *Parintintim* and *Tupi-Kagwahiv*—who were by now in the upper Machado river—migrated in various directions from the upper Tapajós to the Madeira, Ji-Paraná and São Manoel where they were called *Taipo-chichi*, after being destroyed by the Munduruku (Nimuendaju, 1924, 1925; Métraux, 1927: 28). The savannah area covered by the upper Tapajós and Madeira rivers reunited headhunting nations which had an intense interchange of people and objects. The exchange of shrunken jivaro heads for rifles is one example (Bennet Ross, 1984).

Informed by Prepori Kayabi, Friel (1969-72) agrees that the group he calls *Tapuisí* (or *Tapuisi*) was living between the *Munduruku* and the *Kreen Akrore*, adding, however, that it was an old group formed by Apiaká and Kayabí individuals. The Suyá

¹⁹⁵ Falla dirigida á Assembleia Legislativa da província do Amazonas, na abertura da primeira sessão ordinária da primeira legislatura, pelo Exm.o vice-presidente da mesma província, o dr. Manoel Gomes Correa de Miranda, em 5 de setembro de 1852. Capital do Amazonas, Typ. de M. da S. Ramos, 1852.

¹⁹⁶ Important in this respect is the International Encounter for Tupi Language and Culture usually hosted by the Universidade de Brasília (LALI-UNB): I (2004), II (2007), III (2010), IV (2013), V (2016).

¹⁹⁷ "A mon sens, le centre de dispersion des Tupi doit être placé dans le basin du Tapajoz ou dans celui du Xingú, de preference sur le cours superieur du premier de ces deux fleuves"

Indians, migrating to the Xingu would fight them as well as the Munduruku. Seeger has recorded a Suyá woman singing a Munduruku song (Seeger, 2004)¹⁹⁸. From information provided by Métraux and Nimuendaju (1948), then we can say that at the turn of the 19th century part of the Munduruku from the Tapajós was already at the mouth of the Aripuanã fighting the *Mura* and attacking the *Matanawí* (who migrated from the São Thomé river).

In the Machado, the Franciscans describe the Jarús, Cruaús, as well as the fearsome Parintintim. At the Jamari lived the Urutiques, Urupás, Manacás, Uruturucús and the Acanga Pisangas, the latter with a reputation for unforgiving ferocity; waged an all-consuming, perfidious war, destructive of everything in their path¹⁹⁹. It is interesting to note, that according to Niggemeyer (1925) this was the motive for the Mission to be established away from the riverbanks where they could be more subjected to the assaults of the so called *regatões* and their products. Niggemeyer calls attention to the simultaneity of the missions of the Italian priests Frei Pelino in the Tapajós and Theodoro da Massafra, at the mouth of the Machado with the Madeira river. The Franciscan Mission in the Amazonas was led by the Bolivian Friar Jesualdo Machetti. Both missions required the intense protection of the respective Presidents of the Province.

The Mission of San Francis was situated at the confluence of the Machado or Preto river and the Madeira and mainly housed Arara Indians, who were at the time at war with the Parintintins (Willeke, 1974: 161-2). Puetter moreover, mentions the war between the Arara and Pama complementing the information that Father Theodoro had already found Portuguese-speaking Torá Indians in the upper-Machado. From 1864 onwards, these Torá together with some Mura were encouraged to settle in this Franciscan Mission where, unexpectedly, they began to be persecuted by the Parintintin:

¹⁹⁸ Track No. 20. "Suyá women sing Munduruku song".

¹⁹⁹ Revista Santo Antonio, ano 3, n. 2, 1945: 10. From the original: "Relatório apresentado pelo Revmo. Sr. Fr. Samuel Manccini ao Presidente da Província. Hospício dos Missionários Franciscanos observantes em Manaus, Capital da Província do Amazonas, 27 de julho de 1872". Also in: Chronica Religiosa, Ano IV, 1873.

The Parintintin hostilities interrupted the brief communication existant by land, between the Preto river, a Paricá affluent, and the Machado river (Pereira, 1980: 537)²⁰⁰

For Father Puetter, however, the savage Indians were not the Parintintin, but the Karipuna, instead. Living half way between the Pará-Bolivia route, he had such an intense desire to visit his villages inland because he knew the Indians only inhabited the villages during the winter rains and at the time the soil needed preparation. So he describes it like this:

After four days travelling they found the Karipuna canoes on the river (...) and went with them upriver. in the late afternoon they pulled the canoes out and arranged a camping site for the night. They rowed until three in the afternoon the next day. They camped for the other night and after marching non-stop for four hours on narrow path eventually reached the Karipuna villages in the middle of the woods (Puetter, 1943: 7)²⁰¹

Exploring the Savannah

The Tapajós savannah advanced through the port of the old Franciscan Mission. From that point onwards, the traveler had to penetrate the savannah leaving behind the Cururu water course which brought him there. Of course, this was still the lower flood plain a place where the savannah becomes wet during the rainy season. Father Hugo Mense was gradually experiencing the transformation of the scenery:

²⁰⁰ “As hostilidades (dos Parintintin) interromperam a comunicação que havia, por terra, entre o rio Preto, afluente ocidental do Paricá, e o rio Machado”

²⁰¹ “Depois de quatro dias de viagem encontram os ‘Caripunas’ em sus canoas no rio (...) subiram com estes o rio. A tardinha, encostaram as canoas e improvisaram um acampamento para a noite (...) até as três horas da tarde tiveram de remar ainda. Novamente fizeram um acampamento para a noite (...) após uma marcha de quatro horas num caminho estreito, alcançaram, afinal, o acampamento dos ‘Caripunas’ no meio da mata virgem”

from visible river courses to a huge and indistinguishable set of interposed canals forming an igapó. The old Mission was still visible, used by Peruvian rubber traders as an advanced base for collecting and distributing rubber. By doing that, they kept the inland routes opened:

We vigorously advanced forward. After twenty minutes we found dry land. We crossed a bushy and a forested area until reaching the plains where the mission was first situated and from where all the indigenous routes depart to the interior. The imposing indigenous central house was still there, with the bark walls and the thatch roof in ruins. There were no people living besides some Peruvians waiting for the rubber to arrive from the interiors, from the Huaretori for example, and from other rivers. Besides the trails to the interior from where the rubber passed, the forest dominated everything because there were no people to control it (Mense, 1925)²⁰²

Hugo Mense walked across the savannah, mile after mile, until reaching the village of *Nançaböripabi*, a locality 220m up the hill where one could see all the fields and mountains in the vicinity. The Indians had given the hill a particularly appropriate name: scorpion hill (rat-á or ndat-á) (Mense, 1925): Mense called it the tick hill (puruen-á), the bald or hairless mountain (iaraparat-emat-á) and even visualized the wild pigs house, the dadié-reçá. *Nançaböripabi* architecture was oval²⁰³ with a unique

²⁰² “Avançamos vigorosamente para frente. Depois de 20 minutos encontramos terra seca. A seguir passamos por uma capoeira. E depois que nós havíamos passado por uma pequena floresta, alcançamos a grande e bela planície, onde estava situada nossa primeira fundação da missão e de onde eram conduzidos os caminhos indígenas para o interior. A grande maloca indígena, ainda está de pé com seu telhado de palha e envolta com cascas de arvores. Não tinham pessoas, só alguns peruanos que estavam morando temporariamente para aguardar a chegada da borracha que vinha do interior, do Huaretori e de outros cursos de rios. A mata penetrava cada vez mais, já que não havia mais pessoas para corta-la regularmente. A trilha para o interior ainda estava boa, pois os peruanos a mantinham limpa. Até mesmo um par de jumentos, poderia passar ao interior numa viagem de dois dias e buscar borracha, assim como trazer fornecimento para os seringueiros”

²⁰³ O Mundurukú, podendo, dá preferência à forma tradicional que é a arredondada ou elíptica-ovalada. Assim os ancestrais faziam os roçados e assim são feitos até

and contiguous internal room making us believe the house had no walls allowing a 360 degree view of the surroundings. Only 18 people lived there, however. On the 24th of the same month, Father Hugo took off in the direction of the village of Kapikpi where he met the tuxaua *Morumbapi*²⁰⁴. Before arriving, though, he passed through *Cabutiuncti* (*Cabutionc ti*), an old village of the famous João *Huacuapom* headman. His son José *Huacuramaibö* accompanied the expedition. Buntipti or Bumtpi-ti is the name of a small river that runs inside the plains separating Kapikpi from the Kapikpi mountains. It has an extension of 8 km and was called the grasshopper plateau, in Munduruku, *Cachiraçäräränpí*. Two years earlier, in 1923, Hugo Mense had already gone to *Boripabi*²⁰⁵ a locality with around 54 inhabitants divided in two houses. *Boripabi* was distant:

Six to eight hours on the way to José's entrance and five more minutes to his house. More or less one hour and a half of walking in the woods passing one or two small rivers, in the direction of the savannah fields were two neighbouring houses, one Eksá with one caruque-recçá and three caruqué with the dimensions of one meter by one and a half and some other instruments. Bows, one or two pieces of paxiuba tied up and a mouthpiece to blow. Women should not see, under any circumstances, this instrument. 'Idiupí' they say when in its presence. Other instruments are the paracei; uchem-ú (?), bibio (?); caruqué-reços, pedra, bum...²⁰⁶

hoje, nas malocas dos campos. Ainda em 1957, podia-se distinguir muito bem essa forma de roça, sobrevoando de avião as malocàs de Kabitutu e Pararokti (Frikel, 1959:8).

²⁰⁴ *Morumbapi* could be João Bapin living at the village of *Dapsakabi Kabuk*, in the fields (Ramos, 2000). But he could also be the headman of the Kapikpi village called Bapidn, Mense found in *Parawarêktika*.

²⁰⁵ Probably "*t'uburaribi* [name] of the house", as is registered in Stroemer's dictionary.

²⁰⁶ "6-8 horas no caminho até a porta de José Ger. 5 minutos até a casa; +- 1 ½ h de caminhada pela mata; 1-2 Igarapés, trecho de zona pantanosa, até o campo onde há duas malocas vizinhas e 1 hecça com 1 Caruque-recçá e 3 caruqué de 1m por 1 ½m instrumentos mais. Arcos 1 e 2 pedaços de paxiuba amarrados de cima um no outro com pedacinhos a atravessa-los e bocal para soprar. As mulheres não devem olhar este instrumento. "Idiupí"²⁰⁶: dizia ao enxergá-lo. Outros instrumentos: pem; paracei; uchem-ú (?), bibio (?); caruqué-reços, pedra, bum". Also from Father Hugo's notebook: "No átrio da capela, a noite, já há muita gente. Um grupo de homens, com

The plains of *Carucupy* laid out a better route to the Campinas without having to take the humid forest path, difficult to surmount because of the dense vegetation (Mense, 1925). Both of the routes led downhill to the village of Wakupari (currently I Tropas river). Karukupi, lay between the villages of *Dekodjém* and *Neimburé*. The name, according to Stromer dictionary, means the place where Karu got down, or the place where his hunting house was (Stromer, 1932). *Dekodjém* or *Huaremça-nanbi*, literally means the place where the coatá monkey arrived and its headman was Abui bui²⁰⁷. Another savannah route finished at Huary, where Hugo Mense found only twenty people living. The headman of Huary was a man named Puawatpo. Huari also had a strong and well-known shaman called Irichibey²⁰⁸. From Huary a series of mountains paved the way to Huetonanán: the Pem-caca-á (mountain of the war trumpet) and the Caruru-titi-á hill. From Mense's description of *Huetonanán*, better known as Cabruá, we have reason to believe the village was much active. Their chief was *Boruremaribo* and his wife was Caru-bimán. The village had around 100 people. Finally, on the 1925 new's year eve Father Hugo arrived at his final destination, the village of Aranboraririp or Cabitutu whose chief was Juribichauatpo²⁰⁹.

At the beginning of the year 1931, Father Albert Kruse made two expeditions across the Tapajós savannah. On the first one, from Wari, he continued on to Witunanan or *Wñãsãnan* (Kabruá) and from there to *Erãbêraririp* (*Kabitutu*) where they had one night's rest before travelling the next day in the direction of *Waremsanabê* (*Dekodjem*). The idea was to end the savannah visit in the village of *Parawarêktika*, but still in the Kabitutu. Kruse described the discovery of the trumpet of war called *pem*, last used in an expedition against the Parintintim Indians where almost all the Munduruku warriors died. On the occasion of the second expedition, however, they went to an ancient village called Ikupiorebê. Continuing upriver,

flautas de grossas tabocas, toca monotonamente o 'pari-ci-cei' e dança em roda com outras pessoas, dois passos a frente, um passo atrás. E poderiam passar a noite toda naquela monotonia, interrompida somente por umas cuias de 'caxiri' (RAMOS, Dom Alberto. "50 Anos no Cururú". O Liberal. Belém – Quinta-Feira, 5 de Março de 1970).

²⁰⁷ The Montanha dos Macacos (Deko Ka'a) (...) is a rocky mountain beside the Tapajós River, it is considered sacred, the house of the monkeys.

²⁰⁸ MENSE, Hugo. Flores do Sertão.

²⁰⁹ MENSE, Hugo. "Nossa viagem missionária no ano de 1925 aos indios das savanas do Cururu". Revista Santo Antonio, Ano 3. n. 3, 1925.

We stopped at a place to eat and met people from the Ikupi clan. After the meal we continued our trip and soon found people from the Waku clan²¹⁰

According to the linguist Dionei Gomes, the particle *di/ti* for the Mundurucu means water (river, lake). As we saw in the last chapter, it goes together with another particle called *wat*, forming the expression *diwat/riwat*, meaning the dwellers of that water. It is also possible to use the expression *duk ti/rec-ti* when referring to the kind of people who are inside the water. This is what allowed us, in the previous chapter to talk about the *parawa duk ti*, or the river of the blue macaw. Similarly, we can talk about the *aware apak ti* or the river of the red head otter. According to Kruse, the *riwat*, first of all were nations. The current Mundurucu sibs were originally independent tribes (Kruse, 1934: 56). The particle *ka* in Mundurucu, according to Stomer means land/village, which in turn allows us to understand when this expression comes together with a name, for example, *köröröt pi ka*, *kapikpik ka*, *dari bika* and so on (Stomer, 1932).

Father Albert Kruse believed that the Mundurucu Indians were descended from the Cocama Indians. During the almost ten years he spent in the Cururu Mission a Cocama informant called Antoninho *Maniwa'ri* told him some characteristics of these people's social organization. He said: "I still recall the following families of my people: *Awana'ri*, *Ipushi'ma* (heavy), *Maniwa'ri* (small Paca) e *Opa'ri* (sardine), from one side. The members of this family cannot, under any circumstances, marry between them, this is because they are of the same blood. But they can marry with people from the other side, that is: *Tama'ni* (anteater), *Taricbhari'ma* (charcoal)²¹¹. The Manihuaris are

²¹⁰ "Paramos num local para comer. Lá encontramos pessoas do clã Ikupi. Então nesse local nós comemos. Depois de estarmos prontos, continuamos e encontramos pessoas do clã Waku". The Mundurucu say: "eu pertenço ao clã arara vermelha. Ele é do clã seringueira-itaúba. Lá vem os japu. etc." Albert Kruse. Folhas Soltas do Cururu. pp. 17-24.

²¹¹ In the original: "Familien der Kokámas. Ich erinnere mich noch an folgende Familien meines Stammes: 1. *Awana'ri* (?), 2. *Ipushi'ma* (schwer), 3. *Maniwa'ri* (ein Tierchen), 4. *Opa'ri* (Sardine). Die Anhoerigen dieser Familien koennen nicht

part of a bigger group, a remnant of patrilineal groups whose members have largely migrated. Besides them, the other four groups are the *Murayaris*, the *Tapayuris*, the *Huaycamas* and the *Pereyras*" (254)²¹². Albert Kruse described some Mundurucu sibs as having plural or multiple totems, and some of them as possibly related. The Maniwari clan, for example, was related to the Paigo clan, meaning mother moon (a nocturnal bird)²¹³ and pertains to the red moieties (Kruse, 1934: 56). This follows Murphy's hypothesis that the creation of new clans is only possible by internal segmentation of old ones (Murphy, 1978: 78)

The concentration of rubber plantations in the Tapajós was always on the *Huaretari* river or *Tanyuru-paui* river, in Mundurucu²¹⁴. Reading the manuscripts of the Franciscan Mission, in the Cururu river, it is impossible not to pay attention to the many individuals of Peruvian Nationality that were circulating in the Upper Tapajós River, concentrated at the Preto igarapé. In the mission's manuscripts, Father Hugo Mense comments that in mid-April 1917 he was married in the Franciscan chapel of the Cururu Mission "o sr. Manuel Sabino da Costa com D. Luila Inca natural de Iquitos na Republica do Peru"²¹⁵. He also mentions, more than once, that Peruvian rubber traders regularly passed in front of the Mission transporting rubber and also that they waited there for the arrival of the Mundurucu rubber gatherers from the forest.

The most famous Peruvian rubber trader of the region was certainly Eulogio Mori. Savage-Landor mentions that the "Mori Brothers House" had the second largest rubber-trading business on the upper Tapajoz River (1913: 317). There were in total three Brothers: Eulogio, Alexandre and Paulo. They established themselves at the

untereinander heiraten, da sie ein Blut sind. Sie koennen aber heiraten mit 5. Tama'ni (Ameisenbaer) und 6. Taricbhari'ma (gestossene Holzkohle). Diese sind ebenfalls ein Blut und koennen daher nicht untereinander heiraten; wohl aber mit den *awana'ri*, *ipushi'ma*, *maniwa'ri* und *opa'ri*". KRUSE, Albert. "Etwas von den Kokámas". Lose Blätter vom Cururu. Indianerstudien in Nordbrasilien. Santo Antonio Provinzzeitchrift der Franziskaner in Nordbrasilien, Bahia, 16 Jahrgang, 1. Heft, 1938. pp. 21.

²¹² STOCKS, Anthony Wayne. "The Invisible Indians: A History and Analysis of the relations of the Cocamilla Indians of Loreto, Peru, to the State". University of Florida. 1978.

²¹³ For the myths of origin of the 'Mãe da Lua Grande' and 'Mãe da Lua Pequena', see Murphy, Robert. "Mundurucu Religion". 1958: 121.

²¹⁴ Maybe *Hiri-tutú-ri* or Igarapé da Missão, which in turn takes to the Lake *Hurucuá-ri*, Lago da Cabeça de Pedra (MENSE, Hugo. 'Nomes de Lugares da Missão'). According to Stromer dictionary, it could also be the Huaretari, Inajá Palm river, also known as *Aritairy* or *Aritairé*.

²¹⁵ MENSE, Hugo. "Flores do Sertão". Magazine of the Cururu Mission. 1917.

most distant point where it was possible to navigate the river without extraordinary dangers. Eulogio's farm was located near Castanho, in the Crepotiá river, where many Muduruku Indians worked, Alexandre lived further up in the Juruena.. In the São Manoel, Father Hugo found evidence of *barracões* used by the Mori Brothers and listed the following *malocas*: Maloca do João Matheus, known also as Maloca do Lauriano; Maloca de Monte Alegre and then after the Tucunaré-quara waterfall the Maloca of Joaquim Ceará.

Eulogio Mori rubber properties in the Crepotiá were strategically placed at the mid-point for someone travelling from the Juruena to the São Tomé river. Caetano Poxu and some other Indians also helped to store Mori's caucho. In January 1917, the Mori Brothers hired the mapper Micedo Junior to explore a likely passage between the Tapajós and the Xingu river in order to expand their rubber empire. He was also a friend of the missionaries and helped them in matters of transporting people and goods.

Hugo Mense points out that the Munduruku Indians were amassed was below the Krepotiá.

Table 3 - Rubber Properties along the banks of the Tapajós, based on data from Raymundo Pereira Brasil and Mense.

Rubber Propriety Places		
Monte-Christo	Barreiras	São Pedro
Ilha do Maruim	Igarapé do Moreira (Moreira)	Barreirinha do Marinho
Igarapé São Florencio	Independência	Igarapé do Castanho
Igarapé Ipauapixuna	Piracaná	Santarenzinho
Miritituba	Itaituba	Ilha Grande do Curral
Itapéua	Igarapé Capituan	Paynin
Ilha Grande do Itapucú	Nova Vida	Rio Itapacura Grande
Vista Alegre	Barreirinha	Santo Antonio
São Vicente	Bela-Vista	Guaraná
Cacau	Paraizo	Tamanqueira
Santa Victoria	Campo	Espirito Santo
São Paulo	Bom Principio	Juruti

Mangabal [Waterfall]	Pimental	Frexal
Bello Principio	Ilha Goyana	Vila Braga (ancient Tower Port) [Boburé Waterfall]
Igarapés Acuahy [Waterfall]	Xinguzinho [Waterfall]	Tracuá [Waterfall]
Arixí [Waterfall]	Lauritania [Waterfall]	São Luiz [Waterfall]
Santa Cruz [Waterfall]	Maria Luiza [Waterfall]	Periquito [Waterfall]
Furnas [Waterfall]	Poção [Waterfall]	Igarapés da Barra, do Urua and São João
Igarapé Itaborahy	Palhal	Ilha Vienna
Momboahyzinho	Mongoahy	Santo Antonio
Boa Fé	Maciel	Flechal
Bela Vista	Pascal	Marco da Légua
Carrosal	Morro Grande	Bom Principio
S. Paulo	S. Joaquim	Mergulhão [Waterfall]
Tucunaré [Waterfall]	Buenos Aires [Waterfall]	Laginhas [Waterfall]
Lorena	Lelio	Igarapé Buiussú
Ilha Brasileira	Jamanchim River	Ilha do Bom-Fim
Bom-Fim	Ilha do Momboahy	Aqui-Perto
Repartição	Faustino igarapé	Sant'Anna
Francez	Urubutú and Montanhas igarapé	Ilha São Joaquim
Ilha do Chapéu de Sol	Feixes/Feixo [Waterfall]	Acará [Waterfall]
Divisão [Waterfall]	Montanha Island [Waterfall]	Montanha igarapé [Waterfall]
Manoel Paulo [Waterfall]	Levindo [Waterfall]	São Vicente [Waterfall]
Prainha	Praia-Chic	Porto Alegre
Pharmacia igarapé	Jutaí igarapé	Lua Nova
Botica igarapé	Terra Preta	Morcego
Ilha do Curimatã,	Ilha do Tracuá	São Lourenço
Curimatã	Igarapé do Jacaré	Flechal
Taquara	Caréca	Ilha de Santo Antonio
Missão Nova	Igapóassu	Crato

Ilha da Mucura	Ilha da Velha Chica	Buritizal
Curuça	Penedo	Bacabalzinho
Bom Jardim	Bacabal [Waterfall]	Lage
Jutaí	Maloca	Ilha de Boim
Cuatá-Cuara	Ilha da Barra	Ilha Preciosa
Boca do Crepori	Crepori River	S. João
Jacu-Cuara	Ilha do Cantagalo	Igarapé do Jacú
Maloca	Pindobal	Ilha do Buiussu
Santa Isabel	Ilha de São Jorge	Sobradinho
Portugal	Espanha	Portugal Velho
Mangabalzinho [Waterfall]	Henriques	Mesquita
Rebello de Alcantara	Ilha do Castanho	Vila Maria
S. Martinho	Zé Custódio	Fortaleza
Igarapé do Pacu	Ilha das Tropas	Rio das Tropas
São Martinho	Igarapé do Mutum	Ilha Mucura
Ilhas do Jauarizal	Pomas	Miritizal
Jacaré-A-canga	Ilha do Cabitutu	Igarapé Cabitutu
Sae-Cinza	Rio Cadiriri	Igarapé do Biussu
Ilha de São João	Samauma	Lago das Piranhas
Ilhas das Piranhas	Munguba	Ilha de Porto Alegre
Porto Alegre (ou Alto Alegre)	Periquito	São Domingos
Paraizo	Villa Nova	Capoeiras [Waterfall]
Ahiry	Traira	Anajatuba
Roncador igarapé	Morro de S. Benedito	Pasqueirinha (Pesquirinho)
Ilha Samauma	Ilha Grande do Cururu	Maloca de José Elpídio
Igarapé Patanazal	Cururu (Mouth)	Veneza
União	Canudos	

The Jacaré river route that one could follow by land, as we saw earlier, was now part of the São Vicente rubber property of Francisco Paiva, where Raymundo Pereira Brasil had constructed a wagon road for exporting rubber. The Bentes

Paranatinga road connected Bella Vista, a small village of 90 people, to Pimental just before the beginning of the Maranhãozinho waterfall complex. This five-mile-long road promised to contour the rapids during the dry season, the preferred period for tapping trees. Not only this one, but he had in mind another three short-cut roads: a 20 km road from Lua Nova to Rato avoiding the Mangabal waterfalls; a 10 km road from Paraiso to Prainha avoiding the Chacorão waterfalls; a 20 km road from Maloca to Airy avoiding the Capoeiras waterfalls (Brasil, s/n: 70). Brasil's investment in infrastructure had the intention of avoiding the dangerous river, allowing commerce to go beyond the Tapajós waterfalls. During the winter the rubber had to be transported with the help of a *gancheiro* and a *forquilha* who walked besides the canoe, in the woods, hooking the trees and pulling the canoe, while the other pushed with the *forquilha*. When the currents were stronger, a cable had to be used. These movements had to be done skilfully and in accordance with the prevailing river conditions as he describes:

They hook the branches and the *forquilha* oars into the water and so the canoe moves forward at the same time marching is helped by two rowing man one in each side of the canoe. When current is too strong or in any dangerous curves where the pilot cannot work out alone the hooking man goes on the prow turning the canoe's directions (Brasil, s/n: 133)²¹⁶

Father Mense, who preferred to move slowly by land, describes the way from Vila Braga to S. José in more details, until where Sr. Manoel Antonio de Carvalho lived:

Going through a plateau of around eighty meters high one starts to go down only to go up again finally reaching a clearing site surrounded by forest and flatlands. The main house enclosed by

²¹⁶ “O *gancheiro* passa o gancho em um galho e puxa assim a canoa, o *forquilha* empurra com a *forquilha* um pouco depois do primeiro ter enganchado e assim a canoa anda pra a frente; ao mesmo tempo, a marcha é auxiliada sempre, por um, dois ou mais remadores, remando do lado oposto. Em pontas d'água fortes e em que se tem de fazer alguma volta ou em saívaes de paus muito juntos, havendo por isso impossibilidade de manobrar o jacuman (piloto), fica um *gancheiro* na proa da canoa para pegar com o gancho paus do lado para o qual pretende-se virar a canoa”

smaller ones rests in the middle of the foothill in the intersection of many indigenous trails (0879, Diary)²¹⁷

He then arrived at the house of Manoel Felipe da Costa in Tamanqueira at the margins of the Arixí river where he spent the night. There he baptized 30 Mawé Indians, including a Mawé woman “trained enough to respond to some words collected by Coudreau”. Tamanqueira is an important plateau in the region rich in clean river water. Not only the Arixí, but also the Acuay, the Tracuá and the Flexal originates there. They rode horseback across the river to a place called *Santa Victoria* where the rubber owner José Leite Brasil lived. After that, they left for *Castanhal*, already two hours distant from Tamanqueira and finally to *S. Felipe*, where he met the *Tuxáua Mawé Antonio Correia*, almost on the New Year’s Eve 1908, before having to return²¹⁸:

It is better to go to the upper Tapajós by land. Horses leave Villa Braga going to Seu Carvalho’s house and from there until Tracuá (Vista Alegre). Crossing the Arixí in the direction of Seu Manuel Felipe house to the rubber propriety of a man called João Preto. Continuing to Seu Galdino’s house (Maximiano de Souza) one is already at the mount of the Jamanchim and almost all the dangerous waterfalls are left behind making the trip more comfortable and economical (Diary, 0881)²¹⁹

²¹⁷ “vai por um planalto de cerca 80 metros de altitude, depois desce, para finalmente subir novamente, chegando-se numa grande clareira cercada por matas e chapadas. A casa principal, com diversas casas em volta, fica no meio da colina, no cruzamento de diversas trilhas”

²¹⁸ According to Tempesta the current Tamanqueira village was opened after the disaggregation of the Apiaká village of Nova Esperança during the 70s when Paulo Morimã was the chief (Tempesta, 2009: 246). Almeida, Luana (2010). Tamanqueira is a Munduruku village, pertaining to the Cururu division, which was inhabited by four families with a total of twenty-five people (136). The Ethno ecological report of the Munduruku land describes the Tamanqueira as pertaining to the Anipiri region with a total of 23 people between Munduruku and Apiaká (2006)

²¹⁹ “Para subir o Alto Tapajoz, é melhor ir por terra. Sai-se a cavalo de Villa Braga até a casa do Seu Carvalho; de lá até Tracuá (Vista Alegre); de lá, atravessando o Arixí, até a casa de Seu Manuel Felipe; de lá até a casa de um proprietário de seringais que o povo chama de João Preto; de lá até a casa do Seu Galdino [Maximiano de Souza], onde em frente o Rio Jamaxim desemboca no Tapajoz. Assim, contornam-se as corredeiras e cachoeiras perigosas, e a viagem é mais econômica e proveitosa”

The waterfalls of São João and São Luiz were the first impediment for someone departing from Itaituba and going up river. As Hugo Mense, mentions, however, there was a short-cut through the middle of the rubber properties that one could take to avoid in the difficult passage through the main waterfalls of the Tapajós river (see table of waterfalls on the Tapajós)

At the end of 1912, Hugo Mense was again in that region, but this time, crossed *Pimental* on foot, entering the *Mamboai* river, from the *Vianna island*. He stayed for four days at the João Brígido da Costa rubber place of *Mombahyzinho*, just above the falls, and in April next year, riding donkeys, went to *Maloquinha*:

From there to the Zé Pereira passing by the Arraia. There, on April sixteenth I read the mass and baptized three children. From there I follow at eight in the morning to Lourenço Lobato's house at Bello Principio. We have to go up a hill called Boqueirão. There are some frutiferous trees in the region. We arrived at Bello Principio at twelve. The path was good, only a little muddy. I went by foot²²⁰

Following the *Mombahyzinho* igarapé further up, and after crossing a place called *Cachoeira*, Father Hugo arrived at the locality of *Espírito Santo*. *Espírito Santo* was the junction for three different paths: one could go to the locality of *Francez* in one day, or take the trail leading back to *Villa Braga*. A third option would be in the direction to *Muquaiadinho* and from there, to *Retiro*, where Antonio Martins lived. Mense stayed for a few days in Retiro, before making baptising the Mawé Indians who came from Uxituba:

²²⁰ “De lá ao Zé Pereira, passando por Arraia. Lá, em 16 de abril, li a Sta. missa, batizei 3 crianças. De lá seguiu-se às 8 horas para Bello Principio, pra casa do seu Lourenço Lobato. Deve-se subir um morro alto, chamado Boqueirão. Ao pé deste há uma casa com algumas árvores frutíferas. Chegamos em Bello Principio às 12 horas. O caminho estava bastante bem, um tanto enlameado. Fui a pé”. In: MENSE, Hugo. Diary. De Mombahyzinho para Bello Principio, 14 de abril de 1913. Pp. 94.

There are still many Mawé, specially in Mariacoan and Cumarú. But these places are localized in Amazonas state and for that reason we don't have missions there. It would be much easier because of the river's proximity. From Maués its easy to go the Amazonas or even to the lower Tapajós. A mission among the Mawé would also be a excellent terminal of transport between Obidos or Itaituba and our own mission in the Cururu²²¹

The Coudreau expedition, hired by the current Governor of Pará, Lauro Sodré, had the intention of updating the data collected some years earlier by Castelnau, who had visited the Apiaká Indians in the Tapajo headwaters.²²² He arrived in Itaituba only a few weeks after the death of the first engener hired to evaluate the Tapajós navigability by name Trapper. On his journey upriver, after crossing the biggest islands of Goyana and Lauritania, he started to feel the watercourse of the series of waterfalls composing the Maranhaozinho system. He as followed by another engineer, Dr. Adriano Xavier de Oliveira Pimentel, who was sent by the Brazilian government because of its interest in rubber and copaiba oil. He was charged with reporting on the situation of the mission and expanding the civilizing project in the region, supported by the Secretary of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Affairs, former Ministry of the Empire.²²³

At the time of Coudreau's trip, *Mucajatuba* was already owned by the rubber trader José Lourenço Cardozo, better known as Cardozinho; the owner of property from the Chacorão until the Tapucú farm where he had a cattle herd. From Jacucuara to the Tropas river was a smooth journey without waterfalls. This can be considered the transition to the entrance of the limits of the Mundurucania:

²²¹ "Ainda há muitos Maués, em especial em Mariacoan e Cumarú. Mas esses logradouros ficam no estado do Amazonas. Por isso não fundamos nossa missão entre os Maués. Ela teria sido bem mais fácil, devido à proximidade dos rios. Da região dos Maués chega-se sem problemas no Amazonas, ou no Baixo Tapajoz (...) Uma missão entre os Mawés seria uma boa estação de passagem entre Obidos e nossa missão, ou entre Itaituba e nossa missão". Idem.

²²² Mensagem Dirigida pelo Sr. Governador Dr. Lauro Sodré ao Congresso do Estado do Pará e sua reunião em 1o de Fevereiro de 1896.

²²³ Secretaria de Estado da Agricultura, Comércio e Obras Públicas

Six to eight days after the Tropas river, the Tapajós receives on its left hand side two of their most importante affluents; the Cabroá place of an important Munduruku viilage and the Caburi, where the most famous Munduruku village is localized, called Macapá. Both of the rivers enters the savannah fields and completes eight days of travel departing from the Topas mouth (Coudreau, 1897: 55)²²⁴

The sound of many horns²²⁵ was heard, during the year 1876, by the boy explorer Ernest T. Morris, who was already tired of having to wait for canoes to go above the falls. The *horns* were an essential feature of canoe communication, which signaled the arrival and departure of river expeditions. It signaled to the houses located upon the banks, and its volume, which could be heard from miles away, disturbed village life. Because of the frequent visits to the upper Tapajós river, Morris was used to the delays which were an intrinsic element of travelling through the Amazon. When he left Itaituba, the only place he could take a rest was when he arrived at the house of a mixed-blood man named Albuquerque (also known as Leverger). Morris was accompanied by a group of ten *tiacorão* Munduruku Indians who served as Indian guides and crew. Their navigator was an Indian called Manuel. From that point onwards, he noticed canoes were very different from the ones seen on the lower river. Bigger, larger and heavier *itaúba* canoes were necessary to pass the Tapajós rapids. Morris' narratives were well-illustrated by Edward S. Ellis (1886)'s novel set in the Tapajós. Ellis envisions that, from time to time, a dozen trading canoes were sent from Itaituba ascending the Tapajóa above the rapids where they bartered with Munduruku for rubber and drugs (Ellis, 180). It was under these circumstances that Morris became close to the rubber trader Cândido Pinto. Morris was a trophy-head collector and Pinto was a mixed-blood native from Mato Grosso and was the owner of a rubber property at the mouth of the Tropas river. He regularly went upriver in the direction of Urucurituba. After safely crossing the lower waterfalls above Itaituba,

²²⁴ “Seis ou oito dias depois o Tropas recebe pela esquerda dois caudatarios muito importantes: o Cabroá, onde existe forte maloca mundurucu, e a seguir o Caburi, simples igarapé onde porem se situa uma das malocas mais faladas da nação Mundurucú, a de Macapá. Ambas nas Campinas, cerca de oito dias de viagem da embocadura do rio das Tropas”

²²⁵ The horn is associated with the taking off of the heads in Karodaiibi story

Morris convinced Pinto to stop by the Bacabal Mission where he had the chance to meet Frei Pelino's right-hand man, the Munduruku Indian, Mari Baxi, for whom he acted as a translator to Dagamme Mago Bashshee (Morris, 1884).

The Director of the Indians in the Upper Tapajós during the 1880s was Joaquim Caetano Correia, founder of Itaituba.²²⁶

Standing in Vila Braga, in front of the Goyana island, during February of 1923, Curt Nimuendaju was told about a Mawé village, 'owned' by the trader Antonio Lobato accessible from Vila Braga in a journey of a day and a half overland, where by, crossing the hillside many other Mawé villages could be reached. Having seen his plans to visit the Munduruku and Apiaká from the upper Tapajós river frustrated, the only option left was to navigate back from the lower rapids of the Tapajós to the last commercial station before Santarém. He then moved to a place called *Tamanqueira*²²⁷ where he knew passing Mawé Indians often traded. Probably even without noticing it, he was standing in the middle of a trade route connecting the Tapajós with the Madeira river through the smaller Mariacuã and Mamuru rivers. We can clearly see now that the rubber trade used routes previously opened by the Mawé guaraná commerce and, perhaps even earlier, according to mythological and oral histories, as we will propose in the next chapter.

The place of Tamanqueira indicates an entrance point into the forest already covered by the Mawé Indians, but unknown to the previous white expeditions, concerned only with exploring the river from head to toe from its margins. With luck, five Indians suddenly appeared. At the time the upper Tapajós caught Nimuendaju's attention, in the early 1920, the Franciscans were already probing the Munduruku at least from 1908 when father Hugo Mense was writing his diary. It is with the retirement of Father Hugo and his replacement by Father Albert Kruse that we have records of exchanges of letters. Nimuendaju crossed on foot to the headwaters of the Mariacuã river. Going down the Mariacuã and the Mamuru already in the Madeira Basin, he happened to pass through eleven Mawé villages and although not very well-received

²²⁶ The Director of Indians in the Lower Tapajós at the same time was the lieutenant Severino Euzébio Cordeiro, who was substituted in 1881 by the police sub-delegate of Itaituba.

²²⁷ Unfortunately, we have not had the chance to check the Curt Nimuendaju Archive of the Rio de Janeiro Museu Nacional, Gaveta IV (Archaeology, Music, Maps and Drawings), Pasta 04, Caderno 2: "Tamanqueira, Rio Maricuã" (Welper, 2002: 209).

in some, like that of the Mawé chief José Leão, all of them were in unknown territory not yet mentioned in the previous charts:

From the Mariacuã river one goes to the Mamurú river and from there on the Uaicurapá lake – none of the localities appear in the maps! – and finally arrives at the Paraná de Ramos draining the Amazon river near Parintintim. I have walked and mapped out all the region with compass and clock (Nimuendaju, 2000: 42)²²⁸

First Descriptions of the Cururu Munduruku

Still in the Sucunduri, Coudreau arrived at João village. While there he heard the story about the village predecessor “*um certo douaré Munhapê*” who had gone down from the Cururu to make himself chief in the Sucunduri. On his way back:

They walked for four days into a rocky and mountaneous region following the fields until reaching Airí, the place where they crossed the Tapajós and penetrated the Cururu. They had following them, as interpreters, two Munduruku from the Sucunduri who spoke good Portuguese and so managed to seduce the savannah Munduruku Coudreau, 1897: 65)²²⁹

²²⁸ “Do rio Mariacuã saí no rio Mamurú, deste no lago Uaicurapá –nada disto figura nos mapas! – e deste finalmente no Paraná do Ramos que desemboca no Amazonas, perto de Parintins, onde cheguei a 24 de junho. Toda esta travessia, desde Vila Braga no Tapajós até Parintins no Amazonas, levantei minuciosamente a bússola, relógio e passos contados”. The *Vaicurapá Lake*, according to Martius, was the residence of the *Quenicarus* or *Canicarus* of the ancient tribe of the Tupinambás missionized by the jesuits in the *Aldeia de Santo Ignácio* (Baena, 226) and, together with the Mundurucus, Mawés and Paravelhanos, the first inhabitants of Vila Nova da Rainha.

²²⁹ “Enveredaram durante quatro dias por uma região rochosa, com uma única campina, até alcançarem o Airí, onde atravessaram o Tapajós e entraram no Cururu. Tendo como intérpretes Mundurucús do Sucunduri, que os haviam acompanhado, falando quase todos portugueses, cuidaram então de seduzir os silvículas das Campinas”

In a traditional story told by the Munduruku Tiago Altaia, 90 years old, an inhabitant of the *Aru* village, he explained how contact was made between the Madeira Munduruku from the Canumã and the upper Tapajós Munduruku (see also: Viagem ao Brasil, Vol.3. : 264). It is interesting to note, from the description, that it seems the name Munduruku is an umbrella term, used to refer to different nations in the region:

He told us that a group of Munduruku from the Campineiro nation, with approximately three hundred and fifty individuals have walked from the Tapajós to some place else. Many days of travel have passed until reaching the Canumã. Along the trip many conflicts emerged between the Campineiro and the Arara Nations. Six villages were destroyed at this time (...). The Campineiros decided to camp when arriving at the margins of a little river called “Blue”, close to the Santo Antonio a right affluent of the Canumã river. After building the village they start to plant gardens – corn, watermelon, banana, manioc and other products. Pedro and his wife lived in separate houses²³⁰

Between the end of February to March 1912, Rondon’s expedition arrived at the same Juruena region where Savage-Landor was lost when trying to retrace one of the Indian routes he had heard of in the Collectoria of São Manoel. While Captain Pinheiro collected information with Sr. (José Soutero) Barreto, the botanist Hoehne²³¹ was left

²³⁰ “Ele conta que um grupo de índios Munduruku da nação Campineiro, com aproximadamente 350 índios saiu do rio Tapajós para um outro lugar. Foram muitos dias de viagem do Tapajós para chegar no rio Canumã. Ao longo dessa viagem, aconteceram muitos conflitos entre índios das nações de Arara e Campineiro. Seis aldeias que ficavam bem no meio do mato foram destruídas nessa viagem. (...) Ao chegarem na margem de um igarapé denominado igarapé do Azul, que fica dentro do igarapé do Santo Antonio, afluente direito do rio Canumã, os Campineiro resolveram fazer a aldeia. Depois de construir a aldeia fizeram plantações de melancia, milho, banana, macaxeira e outros produtos. O tuxaua Pedro e sua esposa, da aldeia Azul, moravam em casas separadas”. In: BELEZA, Adalberto Rodrigues. “A Batalha dos Índios Campineiros”. In: Munduruku Kwata- Laranjal. História e Reconquista da Terra. Manaus. SEDUC/AM. pp. 42-46. 2002.

²³¹ HOEHNE, F.C. Anexo N. II (2ª Parte). Relatório da Expedição do rio Juruena e Tapajoz apresentado por F.C Hoehne, botânico da Comissão de Linhas Telegraphicas Estratégicas de Matto-Grosso ao Amazonas. In: RONDON, Coronel Candido Mariano da Silva. Relatório Apresentado á Divisão de Engenharia (G.5) do Departamento da Guerra e á Directoria Geral dos Telegraphos. 3º Volume.

in charge of visiting the Cururu river, while he got the chance to visit some Munduruku villages together with Doctor Murilo de Sousa Campos, in the S. Tomé and Cururu river, the “first tributary of the Tapajós below the São Manuel where most of the Munduruku lived”. He took as interpreter and guide, a Munduruku chief called João Affonso, from the village *Santo Antonio Assentou o Pé*. He visited the locality of Capicpi (Capepi-uat) where the Franciscan Mission had just been installed, but did not find the priests there, probably because Hugo Mense was in Santarém searching for more personnel and food supplies. Mense did not return until July. The village did not make a good impression on Hoehne. Misery was visible on people’s countenances, especially at the house of an old Munduruku Indian called Apompeu. Despite that, Hoehne had time to collect some ethnographical and linguistic material from the Munduruku and Apiaká, which he directed to Roquette Pinto, and ethnographer of the Rio de Janeiro Museu Nacional and chronicler of the expedition. He gives the example of Apompeu’s Family:

In the Cururu almost all the indians owe a great quantity of money to the rubber tappers and have no idea how much money it is. Apompeu, captain of the National Guard, its a good-natured and easy-going indian living with his family in a good house at a Cururu affluent (Hoehne, 1915)²³²

While in the middle of his field investigation, Hoehne’s crew heard that it was possible to take a narrow and short *varadouro* connecting the Bararati, by land, with the Sucundurizinho. It was a route that could be easily misjudged, due to the many rubber roads built in the middle of the forest to extract the still valuable product. Rondon was impressed that despite the richness of rubber and the many people living there, the river was still not shown in the official maps. In fact, only 20 km separated

Compreendendo o Segundo relatório parcial correspondente aos anos de 1911 e 1912 Rio de Janeiro. 1915.

²³² “No rio Cururu quasi todos os índios são devedores de grandes quantias aos seringueiros e não sabem nem ao menos o valor que tem o real como tive ocasião de verificar. O Capitão Apompeu (Capitão da Guarda Nacional) é um índio bonachão e pacato em extremo; mora ele com sua família em uma boa vivenda muito assediada e bem instalada nas margens de um pequeno igarapé tributário do rio Cururu”

Hoehne's team from the Sucundurizinho's mouth. From there it was only five days down down the Sucunduri by canoe until where it met the Canumã, leading to Borba:

Arriving at the route mouth at the front of the Bananal property, at the Bararati, our guide became a little disturbed saying he was afraid of going the wrong way now the terrain was flooded. I, however, assured him that now was no turning back. Two men walked at the front opening the way with large knives. We reach a point where to spend the night at the margins of the Traira river where passage seemed impossible because of the river depth. Finally, after some research and already convinced swim in order to cross the river, our guide found a canoe half-submerged. Sometimes with water at the level of our knees, sometimes on our waists and sometimes dry we spend four days in this difficult trip to reach the Sucundurizinho on the S. Raimundo house at the destination of the route (Rondon, 1915: 65)²³³

Table 4 - Waterfalls of the Sucunduri river. Source: Euzebio Paulo de Oliveira. Geologia. Publicação 59, Anexo 5. Comissão Rondon. 1915-1918, 30.

Sucunduri	Cachoeira do Inferno	Cachoeira Monte Cristo
Cachoeira Mucura	Cachoeira da Onça	Cachoeira do Taxi
Cachoeira do Bonnet	Cachoeira do Sucuriú	Cachoeira dos Tombos
Cachoeira do Bonnet (upper part)	Cachoeira Dois Canaes	Cachoeira Assahy

²³³ “Ao chegarmos a boca do varadouro, que fica defronte do barracão Bananal, no rio Bararati, o guia ficou um pouco receoso, dizendo- me ter medo de errar o caminho em virtude do alagamento da mata. Eu, porém, disse-lhe que, tendo chegado até aquele ponto, não mais retrocederia. O pessoal levava os sacos na cabeça, um homem servia-me de baliza, dois na frente, de facão em punho, iam abrindo o pique. Chegamos a um ponto onde tivemos de pernoitar. Tratava-se de atravessar um Igarapé chamado Tarira, onde não havia meio de encontrar uma passagem. Todas as sondagens acusavam uma profundidade superior a 4 metros. Finalmente, após muita pesquisa, já resolvido a efetuar a travessia a nado, o guia encontrou uma pinguela completamente submergida. Ora com agua pelos joelhos, ora a seco, ora com agua até a cintura, conseguimos, depois de 4 dias de penosa viagem, chegar ao Sucundurizinho, no barracão S. Raimundo, ponto terminal do varadouro”

Cachoeira Palhal	Cachoeira Bacaba	Cachoeira Araçá
Cachoeira da Fortaleza	Cachoeira do Genipapeiro	Cachoeira de São Jeronimo
Cachoeira Cinco Ilhas	Cachoeira dos Indios	Serra no Kilometro 786
Cachoeira da Parasita	Cachoeira Arrependido	Cachoeira Bacaba
Cachoeira do Cotovelo	Cachoeira das Andorinhas	Cachoeira Caracachá
Cachoeira Mantiba	Cachoeira Sororoca	Cachoeira da Anta

The connection between the Cururu and the Sucunduri rivers in different watersheds was specially made in two different places. As we saw earlier with Rondon's team, the Traira river gave the passage to the Tapajós near the Cadiriri river. But access was much easier further up, after the Chacorão. From there, crossing the São Lourenço, Yerecê, Prainha and Caróçal rubber properties, it was possible to reach the Ipixuna river, accessed through the Porto de Cima da Lage and the Biná island to the "Maloca do Cadete" and the "Maloca do Maracaty". The two villages could be considered the main ones in the Capoeiras waterfall. Coudreau had already described this set of waterfalls as being part of the Chacorão complex where:

The same civilized Munduruku that one can find in the Comprido and in Porto Velho are also found at the Capoeiras margins where, however, they are numerous, around fifty, divided in nine villages: Pedro, José, Gabriel, Diogo, Constancio e Pancrácio, Cassiano, Gregório, Raulino e Caetano. The general chief of the more than two hundred Munduruku villages of all this region, is called captain Maracati, and deserves good references as an important element of religious conversion (Coudreau, 1897: 61-2)²³⁴

²³⁴ "Os mesmos Mundurucús civilizados que se acham no Comprido e em Porto Velho, povoam as margens de Capoeiras, onde, no entanto, são mais numerosos; aproximadamente cincoenta, repartidos em nove aldeolas: Pedro, José, Gabriel, Diogo, Constancio e Pancrácio, Cassiano, Gregório, Raulino e Caetano. Neste agrupamento de aldeolas dos índios Mundurucus, que se eleva a mais de 200, tendo como Tuchaua (o chefe geral ali) o caboclo Capitão Maracati, este merece boas referências como grande elemento de catequese de sua tribo"

They received families coming from the Airi fields together with a white settler called Salustiano (Brasil, 1910). Lieutenant Julio Caetano Horta Barbosa, chief of the Arinos expedition, made a trip departing from the *Airi* (Hairi) or *Airituba* port, located on the left bank of the Tapajós and pursued the beginning of a route to the *Miriti* river and from there to the *Sucunduri* (Rondon, 1915: 280). At the beginning of the 20th century the Munduruku from the Airi fields already came to the Tapajós river banks to exchange rubber in the dry season (Ramos, 2000: 28).

André Ramos is in no doubt that before the rubber boom, the Tapajós Munduruku were concentrated above the Chacorão waterfall and the Maracati village was a key point inside this bigger interiorizing movement. João Wako'po Munduruku people, or Apompeu, as he was known by Rondon employees, could walk for about sixty kilometers nonstop until reaching the banks of the Tapajós river at Maracati's village. He says:

Below the Chacorão waterfall was only the San Martín and above the cataracts, there were still villages of Maracati and another where today there is the village of Pesqueirinho, which was also a place of access of the Munduruku from the fields to the Tapajós (Ramos, 2000: 153)²³⁵

Mense describes the same space in this way while making pastoral visits in the middle of 1911:

Also, at the Tapajós' left margin, between the Chacorão and Capoeiras waterfall, there are two villages. The first one, called Cadete, is inhabited by forty to sixty people (men, women and children) working for the rubber boss Felipe Soares at the right margin of the São Manoel in whose house I have rested for several days on December the fourteenth of 1909. The second

²³⁵ “abaixo da cachoeira do Chacorão havia apenas no San Martín, e acima das cachoeiras havia as aldeias Maracati, e outra onde hoje está a aldeia Pesqueirinho, que também era lugar de acesso dos Munduruku do campo para o Tapajós”

one is called the Marcati village and is the shelter of around forty people, some of them coming from the Sucunduri. In this village there are excellent pilots who know how to pass the Chacorão and Capoeiras waterfalls the most dangerous from the Tapajós. Upriver there are still some Munduruku villages but of less importance holding from six to eight people. After that, there are only the Cururu (Diary, 0952)²³⁶

Hugo Mense continued his trip upriver and took a rest at the house of a man called José Leão, at the top of the Airi. This could possibly be the Mawé chief José Leão, Nimuendaju would meet more than ten years later in the Lower Tapajós. Why might he have migrated?

About the same time, between August and October 1911 the English traveler Savage-Landor departed from Mato Grosso, going to the Tapajós river. After a journey of more than forty kilometers down river, at the top of the *Capoeiras* waterfall, he stopped to rest at the house of a rubber tapper named Sr. Albuquerque working for Raymundo Pereira Brasil. Brasil was the main employer of labor force in the Tapajós and one of the richest men in the region. He possessed almost all the rubber properties along the Tapajós riverbanks and invested in a lot of infrastructure for exporting the products to the ports of Belém and Manaus. Another of Brazil's employees named João Pinto helped Savage-Landor to go down river. He crossed the *Capoeira* rapids and stopped at the Munduruku village of José Maracati, just after a place called tapir island. Maracati lived there with more thirty Indians. He spoke good Portuguese and was the delegate of the Indians in the Pará region. According to Landor:

²³⁶ "Também no Tapajós, entre as cachoeiras do Chacorão e das Capoeiras há, na margem esquerda, duas malocas: a primeira abriga entre 40 e 60 pessoas (homens, mulheres e crianças), a Maloca do Cadete. Os índios lá são índios ditos apatoados. O patrão deles é um certo Felipe Soares (*), na margem direita do S. Manoel, em cuja casa permaneci durante alguns dias. (14 de dez. de 1909) A segunda maloca é a Maloca do Maracaty, com cerca de 40 índios, entre eles, alguns do Sucundury. Nesta maloca há pilotos excelentes, que prestam bons serviços para a navegação e passagem das cachoeiras do Chacorão e Capoeiras, que são entre as mais perigosas do Alto Tapajoz. Um pouco mais rio acima encontram-se ainda algumas malocas menos importantes, de 6 a 8 pessoas. Então chega o Cururú, do qual poderemos escrever mais tarde"

He told me that the best rubber found in that region was the kind locally called *seringa preta*, a black rubber which was coagulated with the smoke of the *coco de palmeira*²³⁷. He calculated that 150 rubber trees gave about fourteen kilos of rubber a day. The *seringa preta* exuded latex all the year round, even during the rainy season" (...) "There was in that region also another kind of rubber tree – the *itauba* – but it was of inferior quality, as the látex was too liquid, like reddish milk, quite weak, and with little elasticity" (...) "Solveira trees were also plentiful all over the district, and gave latex which was good to drink; while another tree called the *amapá*, exuded látex somewhat thinner than that of the *solveira*, which was supposed to be beneficial in cases of consumption or tuberculosis (Landor, 1913: 319).

The Cantagalo Rocks divided one more set of waterfalls generally known as the sequence of the Chacorão, the location of the famous Munduruku village of the chief José Maracati.

²³⁷ Spruce comments that the rubber tree he found in Pará was much more productive than the Negro River *Siphonia lutea* and also *S. brevifolia* (long-leaved and short-leaved *Seringa*): "Near the Barra some milk is taken from a species common on the river banks (*S. elastica*?), but there is another species growing in the forest said to yield more milk. This I haven't seen" (507-8). Spruce also describes that in the Negro River the *Urucurí* palm (*Attalea excelsa*) grows near the rubber tree and that its fruit is essential for the correct preparation of the rubber (184-5). Notes of a Botanist on the Amazon and Andes", MacMillan. Vol. 1. 1908. According to Huber (1913) the Tapajós Basin has a *Hevea brasiliensis* composition different from the Xingu Basin and the mouth of the Amazon because in the Tapajós this species grows in solid ground extending its influence to the high plateau. He also points out that the *Hevea brasiliensis* from the lower Tapajós (Boim and Pinhel) is mixed with a species of *Euhevea* (*Hevea guyanensis*) resulting in a lower quality of rubber (245-9).



JOSE MARACATI.
Chief of the Mundurucus (Tapajoz).

Figure 4 - "José Maracati" In: Savage-Landor. Across Unknown South America. pp. 318. 1913

We cannot be certain if José Maracati was the chief of the Sauré. What we know for certain, however, is that José Cadete's maloca was called *Maloca de Jarauarity*,²³⁸ both of them were to be found on the left margin of the Chacorão waterfall and that they had connections with the Munduruku of the Sucunduri. Remember we saw earlier that the *Jarauary* group had been fought by the Munduruku back in 1784. We believe, however, that José Maracati was none other than José da Gama, better known as *Mari-Baxi*, the indian chief Coudreau met at Jacuacara, close to the Cantagalo stone.

Cururu Migration

Pedro da Silva Pinto was the owner of the small *Mangabalzinho* property with only two rubber avenues and two hundred trees to explore (Brasil s/n: 30). The disappearance of the Bacabal Mission spread the Munduruku once again, while part of them perhaps constituting what R. P. Brasil called the *Maloca* locality, near Jutaí.

Much of the information we have is for the summer period when the Munduruku were dispersed in different families in hamlets all around the upper Tapajós river and its tributaries. Tocantins found families in the Kadiriri river, but also spread out into the forest. Estimates were that the Munduruku were living in twenty permanent villages at the time in a total of 18,910 people (Tocantins, 1877: 101). He lists the following villages: Danapone, Carucupy, Dairy, Capipique, Necodemos, Aiká (Samuumd), Acupary, Arencre, Arebadury, Tein Curupy, Ipsaannty, Cererepça, Cabroá, Imburariry, Macapá, Ucubery, Cabetutum, Chacorão, Airy, Bacabal and Boburé.

Five years earlier, Informed by Joaquim Caetano Corrêa, the geologist Charles F. Hartt attested the existence of the following Munduruku villages on the banks of the Tapajós: Buburé, Montanha, Yutaí, Mangabal, Rato, Bacabal, Boa Vista, Yakareakáya, Xakuraúy, Irê, Kadete and in the Campinas: Kabebétutúy, Imburariré, Sampararibé (?); Kaburuã, Uaré Aritairé, Aipuká, Uekudém, Parabé, Ndasépakté, Hapikpik, Arukurá, Uakuparé, Apsanetik, Karukupé, Daúapóni, Kitnimbiká (119). By

²³⁸ Frei Hugo Mense's. Notícias da Mundurukania. Flores do Sertão. Ano I, N.1.Pp. 8.

the time Barbosa Rodrigues wrote, he identified 32 Munduruku villages at the Campinas adding seven more village names to the previous lists. They were: Carênaurari, Saapicpic, Baurim, Aitic, Uassairamtim, Biamsobu and üaréry (135).

Meanwhile, during January of 1925 Father Hugo Mense in his Pastoral visits could still find the villages of Capicpi, Nançabörip-abi, Capicpic, Huacupary, Huary, Hueton-anan (Cabruá), Arânbörariprip (Cabitutú), Huaremça-nanbi (Dekodjém), Apicá, Cörörötpicá; Chirari-reçã, Paraua-rec-ti-cá, Ticuborari-bi, the lake village, the Buritizal village, Carucupi, Dayrucabi e Daripempi.

Recognizing the influence western goods had among the Munduruku in the 1950s Robert Murphy attempts to describe the role played by the contemporary Munduruku chieftancy in relation to the rubber trader. He mentions that if the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he could help to influence the choice of a chief. To ensure that their choice met with the Munduruku patrilineal rule of inheritance, they usually raised one or two possible heirs in their households. This is exactly what happened with Caetano and his son, Amancio Kabá (Biboy), Young chief of Cabitutu. He describes how this occurred:

Until two years before my investigation, an old Mundurucú whose Portuguese name is Caetano had been chief in the village of Cabitutú. He did not occupy the office by patrilineal succession, but was appointed by a trader who maintained exclusive dealings with the villagers. The residents of Cabitutú respected and accepted Caetano because of his age and the fact that he was not aggressive in promoting the interests of the trader. When the old chief of Cabruá, who possessed the office legitimately, died, the trader decided to shift Caetano from Cabitutú to Cabruá and to install Caetano's son in the vacancy created. The latter, a young man named Biboi, had been raised by the trader. In contrast to the usual unassertive, retiring, cooperative, and nonaggressive Mundurucu conduct, Biboi was loud and vociferous in his claim to be the only one in Cabitutu who knows how to tell the people to work and who can deal with the trader. The villagers looked upon an older man, who was also a shaman, as the rightful possessor of the office and regarded Biboi as a usurper and tool of the

trader. They were prepared to kill him, but refrained because of respect for his father, Caetano, and his family (Murphy, 1960: 123).

He adds that the traders usurped the role of the traditional hereditary chiefs of each village by naming with prestige and regalía one captain as local representative of the whole group:

All of the rubber collected was turned over to the chief who alone negotiated directly with the trader. The merchandise given for the rubber was, insofar as could be ascertained through contemporary informants, equitably distributed to each man in proportion to the rubber he had produced. But since chiefs were commonly more prosperous than other men, it can be assumed that they did not suffer in their role of middleman. The share taken by the chief, however, was never so great as to result in truly significant wealth differences. In fact, the traders usually managed to keep the Indians in debt, and this debt was charged against the chief as the representative of the village" (...) "The trader eventually was able to appoint 'chiefs' to carry on the trade. An appointed chief was usually known as the capitão, or 'captain', as distinguished from the hereditary village chief, who was called anyococucat or ichongop (248).

Crepori, Arencre and Cantagallo Petroglyphs

With an ethno archaeological bias, this thesis tries to engage with the Tapajós petroglyphs in a meaningful way. It has taken note not only that the Indians guided travelers and missionaries to these ancient places, but also of what they saw there, and imaginatively reproduced on their accounts, what may have had particular meaning for the Indians themselves. This kind of rupestrian ethnography tries to

contextualize mythical knowledge with rock paintings. Despite many rock art findings in the Guiana, Colombia and Venezuela region, little is known about the Madeira-Tapajós, including the Teles Pires river.

The rocks here have an intense and silent dialogue with the waterfalls, one can only exist because of the other and their nature is inseparable. In many of the waterfalls, rocks are marked by drawings or incisions forming pictographs or petroglyphs; the same rocks denoting the inhabitation of ancient people. The rocks are not transformed people or animals, as might be the case in the Tibet, for example, but are the activity of real people who could have left the stone drawings. The most elevated areas of the Tapajós river, were occupied, in the past, by a warrior group of Indians who were agriculturalist. This unknown ethnic group had the practice of fragmenting their dead bodies into parts mixing it with terra preta and burning the corpse inside a vessel. The geologists Charles F. Hartt, indeed, accidentally discovered fifteen burnt *igaçaba* pots of an unidentified indigenous group when he was at Sr. Castilho's place, in Cafezal. The place was situated below the city of Itaituba, elevated twelve meters above the river level²³⁹. It was close to the Piracaná river at the confluence of three lakes: Castanho, Pauá de S. João and Cury (Tavares, 1876: 6). Most of the observed Amazonic petroglyphs indeed are localized near rivers and streams that are seasonally flooded and because of constant erosion, difficult to be dated. Hartt discovered urns which were attributed, in part, to the limits of the *Tapajó* tradition which, according to Nimuendaju, extended its influence as far as what is now Itaituba, in the Tapajós close to the Jamachim river in an area occupied by the *Sapupé* (Nimeundaju, 2004; Martins, 2010)²⁴⁰. However, ceramic evidence found upriver shows a simpler material production, without burial urns, only lithic artifacts. As the Tapajós river has a rich lithic record, some archaeologists believe that lithic objects were probably exported to other places, like the Marajó island, for example (Schaan, 2003: 35). Apparently, the sets of waterfalls, described in the previous chapter, could also divide the archaeological style of the river into two or more traditions:

²³⁹ They are often at least 500m distant from the riverbanks and some are elevated 20m above the river level according to July measures (Simões, 1983: 60).

²⁴⁰ For Nimuendaju, the presence of funeral urns distinguished the culture of the Xingú Basin from that of the neighboring Tapajós and its affiliates (Nimuendaju, 1948: 216).

It is possible to infer that the Tapajós waterfalls (near what today is Itaituba) constitutes a natural geographical division between the groups possessing the Incised Punctate Tradition pottery and the groups associated to the Central Brazil context (Martins, 2012: 165)²⁴¹

If the *Incised Punctate* Tradition was found at the Medium Tapajós, the upper parts of the river had another type of ceramic without decorative motifs, known by the locals as the Munduruku ceramics (Perota, 1982: 4). The riverbanks of the waterfalls had always been the first place to be devastated by colonizers and thus worked by the Indians. It was a place of language division and point of encounter for different indigenous groups for ritual purposes. The mixture of different groups of typological ceramics at the same stratigraphic layer allows scientists to infer that exchange relations were constant between visitors and waterfall-dwellers (Almeida and Kater, 2017: 50). More than demarcated boundaries then, the archaeological heterogeneity of these places indicates that different indigenous populations met in the waterfalls thousands of years ago.

Going further up the river, pre-colonial indigenous sites were concentrated mainly on the left bank of the Tapajós, especially in the area between the Cadiriri and the Crepori rivers (Simoes, 1981: 57-60). For Perota, many localities along the upper Tapajós river are now considered archaeological sites because they were places where ancient Munduruku built temporary huts, as in the Igarapé de Ipixuma and in the Cururu river. The story Charles Hartt collected near the *sambaqui Tapirinha*, however, adds an important ethno-historical point of view to this purely archaeological introduction. According to him,

They believe the inhabitants of the upper river were the most aggressive ones in the whole country. They didn't have canoes and crossed the Ayayá river in tree trunks. They were destroyed

²⁴¹ “pode-se inferir que o setor de cachoeiras do rio Tapajós (próximo à atual sede do município de Itaituba) possa ter correspondido a um divisor geográfico natural entre os grupos portadores da cerâmica do Horizonte Inciso-Ponteadado e os grupos associados a contextos do Brasil Central”

by an animal living on a lake, now called the Munduruku Lake, still a place feared by the indigenous people (Hartt, 1885: 14)²⁴²

Barbosa Rodrigues also collected evidence about the “people who inhabited the higher places” when finding what he called *mina de sernamby*; a human-made agglomeration of vegetal earth, edible shells, earthenware, manatee bones and diorite. He also found Indian skulls at this same spot. The diorite was the same he had found close to the locality of *Boburé*, believing ancient axes were polished on the waterfalls stones. He was sure that once upon a time, an ancient road connected the higher and the lower parts of the hill. A route used by the Indians to transport and exchange shells pertained inside the lower forests to the people who inhabited the hills (Barbosa Rodrigues, 1875: 38).

The connection by some physical means between the upper and lower parts of the forests is also told in the *Ipiarawát* story recounted by the Munduruku Indians. The *Ipiarawát* were good people and lived in a similar world as the Munduruku. The difference was that it was under the earth. According to Hugo Mense, the people at the center of the earth possessed a magical flute and fed themselves exclusively with some types of birds, paca meat, dove, the white deer and the red-head toucan. According to Albert Kruse, at the time the hole was open several indigenous groups were separated and lived in war with one another. For him, the origin of the Munduruku to the South is not open to doubt: “they emigrated from the South to their current region. After getting in the Amazon region they established themselves on the right bank of the Tapajós Savannah, organized by Karusakaibë. Later on, the group suffered fissions which gave origin to new tribes” (Kruse, 1935: 831). The Munduruku lived isolated in the locality called *Uayt’akaraá*, the chicken mountain, close to the headwaters of the Ereri river, in the Tapajós savana. One part of the people who left the hole were the Munduruku themselves, while the other part were called *Kakre-wát*, the stone people, who spoke a similar language to the Munduruku but in an old-

²⁴² “existe a tradição de que os moradores dos altos foram os mais bravios do país, que, não tendo canoas, atravessaram o Ayayá em troncos de arvores, e que foram destruídos por um bicho que habitava um lago, hoje chamado Lagoa de Mundurucú, e que ainda é temido pelos índios”

fashioned way (Kruse, 1951: 931). For the Munduruku, Karosakaibö left traces of his passage through the Tapajós river and the drawings are in a place no one can reach.

The Tapajós petroglyphs could be found in at least two different stony places of the region, where Karosakaibö probably circulated and left his footsteps. For the Munduruku, they are the real evidence of God's passage on earth's surface. The first one, as we just saw, was in the *Cantagalo* stone, where Gonçalves Tocantins first saw the Tapajós petroglyphs. The drawings presented a yellowish coloration and were located, according to him, in a place no human being could have reached. Another was in the *Arendré* mountains, *Arakurekabêkp*, in Munduruku, already inside the Tapajós savannah between the destroyed traditional villages of *Acupary* and *Dekodjém*. This is the same place Coudreau and Von den Steinen called *Arencre stones*, between the Xingu and the Tapajos²⁴³.

It was in *Acupary* (*Huacupary* or *Wakupari*) that part of the Munduruku story began. It was the place where Karosakaibö transformed his sisters into wild pigs, and the starting point of his saga. It is through the passage of the wild pigs that land and river assumed its shape. Karosakaibö used the tucumã to make the Tapajós river appear to be impassable and avoid the capturing of his son, Korumtau:

He ran after the pigs. He transformed land into hills. The pigs were approaching the hills. They got down there. There, Karosakaybu got angry again. Cut a quantity of tucumã, broke. He turned out to be water, say the old. The river was open. Pigs got down there and pulled the margins; making that part of the river narrow. Pull the margins. It was close. Karosakaybu took a trunk and put it on

²⁴³ Steinen also draws, talking with Caetano Bakairi, another set of petroglyphs in the upper Paranatinga (Steinen, 1886: 284 and also Koch-Grunberg, 1907: 26). It is localized at the confluence of the Paranatinga with the Verde river and, for the Bakairi, is a mythical place called *Sawâpa*. Formerly, the *Suyá* lived in the Verde river (Steinen, 1982: 64). The Bakairi considered the drawings to be made by the mythical and anthropomorphic being *Kwamóty* footsteps (Edir Pina Barros, 2001: 309).

the water. It turned out to be a crocodile. The crocodile ate the pigs. It got down (Tawe, 1977: 42)²⁴⁴

Going all the way up to the Tapajós river, almost at the confluence of this river with the Crepori, on the right bank of the river, a huge assemblage of rocks, known by the name of *Cuatacuara* immediately caught the attention. According to Coudreau's informants,

Imagine a grat wall about one hundred to one hundred and fifty high and three kilometers of extension along the river margins. Jagged rocks drawing the frontal countours of an edifice, an obelisk, giant than cathedrals (Coudreau, 1897: 29)²⁴⁵

In Cuatacuára also known by the name of Cantagallo Stone, or Morro de Fortaleza, Coudreau came across Claudino's village, a Munduruku living with his family, around ten people. Nunes spent the night at the house of Thiago Ferreira Leal, after crossing the *Pierre de Cantagallo*.

A trained navigator would take around four hours to cross the whole stretch until São Luiz, which lies in the intersection of the two biggest waterfall systems²⁴⁶. He

²⁴⁴ "Ele correu atrás dos porcos. Para lá ele virou a terra em morros. Os porcos foram abeirando os morros. Eles descera lá. Lá (o Karosakaybu) ficou com raiva de novo. Cortou cacho de tucumã. Quebrou. Ele virou água, diz os velhos antigos. O rio ficou aberto. Os porcos descera lá na água. Eles puxaram a beira (porcos). Fizeram a beira estreita. Puxaram a beira. Ficou perto. (Karosakaibu) pegou um pau e botou dentro d'água. Virou jacaré. O jacaré comeu o resto deles (dos porcos). Baixou"

²⁴⁵ "Qu'on imagine une muraille à pic, une grande muraille qui a de 100 à 150 metres d'allitucle relative sur environ 3 kilometres de développement le long de la riviere. Des rochers abrupts dessinant mi fronton d'édifice, un obélisque, d'informes mais gigantesques cathedrals"

²⁴⁶ In his memoirs, Eimar Franco remembers seeing as a kid, only the gaiolas boats navigating the Tapajós: "Antes da chegada da Companhia Ford a região, apenas dois 'gaiolas' trafegavam regularmente nesse percurso. Um era o 'Santo Elias' de propriedade de uma companhia inglesa de navegação denominada 'Amzon Steam' que tinha uma numerosa frota que atendia aos principais rios amazônicos. O outro pertencia a firme Antunes & Cia, e chamava-se 'Tuchaua'. O 'Santo Elias' ia somente até Itaituba e o 'Tuchaua' um pouco mais além, até o lugar chamado São Luiz, que é o ponto terminal da navegação regular no rio Tapajós. Logo acima desse local,

defined the huge área of the Mawé ranging from the Montanha river until Parintins. He believed the biggest concentration of the Mawé was in the Arapiuns river, and the last Mawé to the South were in the Igarapé Tucunua, but also that the left bank of the Tapajós was inhabited by them in the Tapacurá-Mirim, the Tracoá and the Arixí. He also heard from the Munduruku of the Bararaty river (the left tributary of the upper Tapajós) that at a distance of about 8 days from its mouth and above some falls lived the Pari-uaia Bararaty tribe (Coudreau, 1895: 57). Here it seems that historiography alternatively refers to the words *pariua* and *parina* as the same. In the table of matters of Coudreau's book, for example, it is written *Pariná-iá*-Bararaty to indicate the group living in the Bararaty. *Pariná-á*, according to Barbosa Rodrigues, were victorious warriors. They carried *pariná-renape* spears with mummified heads on top, which they showed to others in the *pariná-te ran* party. Barbosa Rodrigues shows a picture of the *pariate-ran* party, or the festivities in honor of the enemies' belt (Barbosa Rodrigues, 1882: 45).

The similarity of the names, however, could be misleading. More important, I believe, is the scarcely observed point of the terminology –wat/wet, composed by the suffix *ztat*, as we saw in the last chapter, or *vrivait*. Both are the same form of the Munduruku particle *riwat* or only *wat*, meaning “the dweller of (some place),” while the word *pariwat* would indicate what is *not* Munduruku (Crofts, 1986: 515). It is possible to suggest, following Levi-Strauss, that these different groups were all “clans with special geographical locations” (Levi-Strauss, 1948: 299) meaning they were all localized in space. Butt-Colson *fluviononymy* was in practice here. He long ago noted for the Karib speaking group that the names *Pemon* and *Kapon* referred to a group of people dwelling in a particular river basin or valley and this was signaled by the use of a suffix added to the name of a river or stream (Butt-Colson, 1983-84: 106-7). Luisa Girardi also noted the same phenomena among the Kaxuyana (2012).

Father Albert Kruse, citing information given to him by a headman living in the Cururu Misison, remembers that the oldest Munduruku warriors did indeed pursue the footsteps of the *Pararauates* until the banks of the Cuparitinga, a northeast affluent where:

começam as cachoeiras e a navegação só é possível a pequena embarcações” (Franco, 1998: 34)

They are spread all over the interior, from the Itapacurá headwaters (a Tapajós east affluent) until the Curuá margins and from the Tapajós Munduruku settlements until the Pacajá. To cross these rivers they build bark canoes which are discarded at the time they arrive at the other side. The tribe is numerous but the different clans obey only their own chiefs (Kruse, 1946-9)²⁴⁷

According to the chief, these Munduruku had houses with conic roofs. As soon as he heard that, Albert Kruse decided to write to Curt Nimuendaju in order to investigate the situation more ethnologically. Just like the colonial *práticos* Nimuendaju had the expertise of gathering different kinds of information on the same region, either by going there in person or through his vast correspondence (now in Museu Nacional, RJ) with other sertanistas and missionaries. Kruse believed that the Munduruku were organized in a totemistic manner represented by the last Munduruku *ekçá waket*, or ancient huts, erected in the village of *Ikuñribi*, in the upper fields of the Tapajós. Thoughtful, Nimuendaju answered:

Could you Sir be so friendly and draw for me the traditional architecture of the Munduruku houses? For me, is difficult to accept the fact that it was really a cylindrical or conic roof, and not a house of the hive type, with no walls and a central pole. The first model would be so strange, however the second would be comprehensible because this for me is found in the Tapajós-Madeira interfluvium, specially in the Tupioides e Nambikuaras²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ “Eles estão espalhados por todo interior, da região da nascente do Itapacurá (um afluente ao leste do Tapajós, cujas fontes se localizam 7 graus abaixo sul) até a margem do Curuá (cerca de 3 graus ao sul), e do assentamento dos Mundurukú no Tapajós (55 graus w. L.) até o Pacajas (50 graus w. L.). Para atravessar os rios que aparecem, eles constroem canoas de casca de árvore, que são jogadas fora assim que chegam do outro lado da margem do rio. A tribo é numerosa, mas as várias hordas obedecem somente a seus caciques”

²⁴⁸ “o senhor poderia ser tão amigável e desenhar para mim num esquema a forma antiga da cabana dos Mundurucus? Para mim é difícil aceitar o fato que realmente fosse um telhado em forma de cone e cilíndrico, e não uma cabana tipo colmeia de abelhas sem paredes com um poste central. O primeiro seria muito estranho, o

From the 1930s to the 1960s, a series of pacifications occurred in the region between the upper Tapajós and upper Xingu. First, the *Txukaramãi* in 1950 and then, the Fish river (Rio dos Peixes) *Kayabi* from 1953-55. On the following decade, the Blood river (Rio do Sangue), Arinos and Juruena *Rikbaksta* from 1956-64, and then the *Tapanhuna* (Suiá) in 1969. The life story of Sabino Kayabi (or Kawaiwete) is an example of the kind of pacification that went on in the Teles Pires region and the indigenous migrations that went on with it. Sabino was born at the beginning of the century in the Peixes river, probably in the *Tatuö* village, north of Mato Grosso. When a war erupted between the Kayabi and the Munduruku Indians; part of the Kayabi were forced to migrate to the Teles Pires (Ferreira, 1994: 61). They used to use the generic word *Yamamik* for the group living above the Arinos/Juruena confluence and for the groups living from *Kawa'ip* down to the Juruena further down. Kayabi groups dispersed along the area where the Apiaká was already living. The Apiaká, at this time, waged constant war against the Rikbaktsa. The Kayabi thought the Munduruku were savage Indians similar to the animals they ate.

During the twenties Sabino Kayabi's parents, together with 198 other *Kayabi* Indians, quickly died, due to a measles epidemic brought on by contaminated goods introduced by a SPI employee called Inário, working in the Pedro Dantas. Sabinos' uncle *Kawaip*, who told that story, mentioned that the first contact the Kayabi made with the white man was during his generation. In the year 1926, Kruse (1933) tells us of a measles epidemic brought by an outsider, which killed many Munduruku and Apiaká Indians. Aturi Kayabi recounted many years later that the disease instantaneously extinguished four Kayabi villages, the main factor in their migration to the Xingu. But how exactly did the disease spread? Nimuendaju (1948: 308) mentions the Kayabi stamping ground in the Cururu Mission under the name of *Makiri*. Indigenous mobility is accompanied by group fragmentation.

Sabino Kayabi was then recruited by the Serviço de Proteção ao Índio (SPI), and moved to the *Posto Indígena Pedro Dantas*, from where he began to attract wild *Kayabi* Indians in different villages along the Teles Pires. This task was not easy to

segundo seria ao contrário, compreensível, pois essa forma é encontrada na região entre o Tapajós e o Madeira, principalmente nos Tupioides e Nambikuaras". For an aerial view of how the savannahs look like, see Mozzer, Fabio: <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/25483276> (access on 01/09/2017).

accomplish and despite the attempts to lure them through various presents, some of the *Kayabi* Indians, including his older brother, the captain Júlio offered much resistance to the pacification attempts.

He then worked in the *Posto Indígena José Bezerra*, in the Teles Pires before moving to the Xingu. At this time, the Villas-Boas brothers were attracting different groups in order to constitute the now multi-ethnic Xingu Indigenous Park (PIX). To attract the Teles Pires Kayabi to the Park, they had to hire old Kayabi men (like *JepepyrilPrepori*) to look and remember the way. “As the Kayabi already knew these places, they already knew the best route to take to the Kayabi villages” (Ferreira, 1994: 74). No matter where the Kayabi lived, their relatives went to visit them. In that manner they managed to convince all the villages under the jurisdiction of captain *Temeoni* to join the others. During the final years of his job, captain Sabino, continued to work in different frontlines of pacification, attracting the wild *Arara*, *Tapayuna* and *Panará* Indians (Ferreira, 1999: 152). He died in 1993.

The story of the Munduruku Indian Sabino Apompé Munduruku²⁴⁹ is the best evidence of easy circulation between the Teles Pires and the Cururu river.

²⁴⁹ It's worth noting the similarity between the words “Apompé” and “Sateré”: que “quer dizer ‘lagarta de fogo’ e é o clã mais importante dentre os que compõe esta sociedade, porque indica tradicionalmente a linha sucessória dos tuxauas ou chefes políticos” (Lorenz, 1992: 11)

CHAPTER 5: DIVERSE MUNDURUKU HISTORICITIES



Figure 5 - View from the Tapajós river. This is a typical sight someone finds when navigating in the Tapajós river. The rocks can be sacred demarcating frontiers and ethnic groups. Source: Daniela F. Alarcon, Brent Millikan and Mauricio Torres (org.). OCEKADI, (Santarém, UFOPA, 2016). 22

Introduction

Munduruku myths recount that their savannah fields are their ancestral lands²⁵⁰. By now, the reader is aware that around the Tapajós river congregated different kinds of movements, which tried to penetrate the river headwaters first from explorations coming from Mato Grosso and during the following century went up the Tapajós and its waterfalls and rapids. The savannah area, however, remained unpenetrated by the white man until almost the 20th century. The following chapter is a sketch of what might be happening at the center, away from the main river banks, based on published myths. As we will see, all of the stories convey encounters and adventures that reflect an active social life in this region before the arrival of Europeans.

²⁵⁰ According to Stroemer dictionary, above the Krepotiá waterfall was the *Buruburu* waterfall.

The Krepotiá Gravity Center

The *Krepotiá* waterfall is a mythical place for the Munduruku. According to Zimmerman (1957), it is partially known as the *Pësërërëk* waterfall, where the lower Cururu begins²⁵¹. The Krepotiá then, stands in the middle of the Cururu valley determining the loops and turns of the river. For Kruse, the creation of the waterfalls was due to the intervention of an alligator which made a hole in the rock cliff to help the fish to swim upriver. At the top of the waterfall, the alligator transformed itself into a rock. Many doves lived under the cliffs. Kerepotiá was also the name of a village. The word *kerepo*, in Munduruku means two things. It is a Munduruku clan pertaining to the red moiety, and the name of the Japú bird, a bird which has the power to imitate other types of birds. . In one mythical story, *Kerepotiá* was also the place where the Kabá family went to live

The Caterpillar Wood Party

In this section we try to engage with Munduruku storytelling by looking through the literature written about the caterpillar baton as a ceremony concealing several stories that are related to places the Munduruku remember. The Adai'Adai ceremony is a rite in homage to the spirit mothers. It describes the return to the "Land of the Game" where the mother of the game takes care of the game. These inter-village rites were a great opportunity for clan encounters. We can imagine that the land of the game could be a place evoked by different clans coming from actual places in the

²⁵¹ The toucan appears in some episodes of Munduruku myths. In the story of the sloth, for example, the sloth husband fools his brother by saying he hadn't even seen a toucan that day (Murphy, 1958: 124-5). Levi-Strauss, however, says that the semantic position of the toucan is difficult to elucidate because they appear only a few times in the myths (Levi-Strauss: 344). Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that the Munduruku word for toucan is the noun *cokõn*, very similar to the word *coko*, for urucum (Crofts 66).

upper Tapajós river. It is because of the constant interaction of people with each other that relations could be constantly created and dissolved and Harris (1996) has shown how the dry season is always a time, in Amazonia, for *festas*, an important occasion in which the riverine community becomes aware of itself. In many ethnographic accounts we find the description of how a given community can become aware of itself or begin to describe a movement towards one's own society. Here the sense of community varies according to the time of the year and the location in which people meet.

The *adaiadai'ip* wood party (also called the caterpillar wood party [Tawe, 1977: 141]) is a community festival for the Munduruku to display to outsiders the painted-marked baton adorned with caterpillar drawings. Using elements described during this ceremony by Murphy, we can see a symbolic universe representing different Munduruku stories and places. While they adorn the baton they tell stories to each other of places they have visited, and others they have not. Nonetheless, all of them are important for understanding the presence of lifelines along the Tapajós river. They are usually stories of expeditions and trips because the Munduruku visualize themselves as hunters and voyagers of the forest (Murphy, 1958: 69).

We will now attempt to present some mythical fragments that can illustrate the mobility we are trying to describe. In the 1950s, Robert Murphy collected the following story from the Munduruku:

Moraichökö lived in the time of the old people on the banks of the Parawaroktí, an affluent of the Tapajós River. He and his friend Morekörewibö lived with their families in a house there. These two men danced all their lives. One day, they left the village, dancing as usual, and came to a stream. Moraichökö made paintings there, high on a rock cliff. No one knows how he got up to the cliff face. Some say that he must have hung his hammock there, but the cliff is smooth and there is no place from which a hammock could have been hung. He could have reached that height only with magical power. After making the painting, Moraichökö made the paintings of the Morro do Cantagalo, on the Tapajós River, he and Morekörewibö then went to the lands downstream (Murphy, 1958: 94).

The place where Muraycoko suffers transformation begins in the Serra *Surabudodot'a* and proceeds to the *Surabudodoti* river. These are both places beginning with the radical *-sura*, tapuruzeiro. He transforms himself into some animals, the most important of these are the *mutum*, the white deer (*veado branco*) and finally into a toucan on the Morro de Koatkoara (Tawe, 1977: 165).

Another story is the “Muraycoko juap”, which means the transformation of Muraycoko or the going of Muraycoko (to someplace else). We would like to consider this myth as important because it shows the origins of the cliff paintings. Muraycoko's body suffered a series of transformations (called dancing) in the *Parawadokti* that finally resulted in the toucan flying away. He was in reclusion and the only contact he had with the external world was his brother-in-law, who brought him food every day in his pan²⁵².

On the other day he went back there again. Muraycoko was dancing. He made a lizard drawing on the wall. Painted with urucum: lizard, curassow, deer, tapir portrait – it was all of that, say the elders. Right there his sister arrived. He was already dancing. *Muraycoko* was already dancing and singing: - *I make everything turn into animal*, said Muraycoko, Tapir I also turn into, Tapir I also turn into, said Muraycoko, Deer I also turn into, Deer I also turn into, said Muraycoko (Tawe et al. III, 1977: 162)²⁵³

From the same storyteller, thirty years later, we learn that, after making the drawings, *Moraichökö* transformed himself into a white deer in what is now the mountain of *Koatokoara* and after that into a toucan. *Moraichökö* was then cheated on by his wife, *Moraichökö*, and went in hunger strike after his sister accused him of being

²⁵² The figure of the pan, as told in Barbosa Rodrigues, is the stone punctured in the format of a pan. The growing of the stone in a pan format is what originated the sky (Barbosa Rodrigues, 250).

²⁵³ “No outro dia foi assim, Voltou lá. Muraycoko estava dançando. Fez um desenho de lagarto na pedra. Pintou-a com urucu: lagarta, mutum, veado, retrato de anta – foi tudo isso, dizem os velhos antigos. Lá mesmo a sua irmã chegou. Ele já estava dançando. *Muraycoko* já estava dançando e cantando: Eu faço virar todo bicho, Eu faço virar todo bicho, Disse Muraycoko. Anta também eu faço virar, Anta também eu faço virar, Disse Muraycoko. Veado também eu faço virar. Veado também eu faço virar, disse Muraycoko”

gluttonous. While dancing and transforming his body, he made caterpillar rock-drawings painted with the *urucum* dye. “Lagarta, mutum, veado, retrato de anta – foi tudo isso, dizem os velhos antigos” (Tawe et al, 1977: 162). In order to examine what the figure of the caterpillar might represent I will try to describe in detail some elements present in the *Adai’Adai* ceremony (or the *Dajearuparip* ritual) for the spirit mother of the game animals which lasted an entire rainy season. The central aspect of this ceremony is the adornment of a caterpillar baton. Like the *Bosavi* (*Kaluli*) from the Papuan Plateau, songs and images evoked during these ceremonial dances refer to real places on the land (Schieffelin, 1976).

At the margins of the Tapajós Jacaréacanga, was the propriety of Manoel Antonio Batista, also known as Tartaruga, and the place where the Cadiriri ends:

The Munduruku living closer to the Cadiriri, are the ones from the Decodemo village. The same distance that the Cadiriri is from the Tapajós there is, in the Cadiriri fields, a Munduruku village called Samaúma (Coudreau, 1897: 56)²⁵⁴

Mense beautifully describes the sight going up river, until the mouth of the Crepori:

From Cuatú-Cuara to the Crepori mouth the Tapajós is very interesting. Inside the water, beautiful little red tail fishes, at the right margin, high hills, less accentuated on the left. Abundant vegetation. At the margins, a proliferation of coloured birds. Far away, guariba monkeys scream on the deep woods. In front of the island a big sandy beach. On the left, massive rocks with partial vegetation which remind me the of section between Raiz da Serra and the city of Petrópolis. In all route we don’t see cultivatable lands. Here and there a rubber tapper’s house is visible from where thick white smoke emerges. The river bed is shallow and

²⁵⁴ “Os Munduruku mais próximos de Cadiriri são os da maloca Decodemo. Nos campos do Cadiriri a igual distância deste igarapé e do Tapajós há uma outra maloca Munduruku, a da Samaúma”

sandy. Parakeets and parrots dance over the forest. The rocks of the left margin seem reddish-white like. At the right margin mururés, canaranas e aningueiras trees appear. On both sides, rich rubber proprieties. On the tenth of September at nine o clock the river narrows²⁵⁵

And Mense continues his diary:

At seven in the morning we continued to the Preciosa island and from there to the Crepori. We went upriver by the right margin, an interesting section because of the many elongated islands. From now and then, a shoal of fish. At midday we met Sir Coronel Cyrillo Bello's boat as previously agreed. A priest must stay in Castanho in order to then travel to the Tropas river. Another must go to Paradise and from there, come back to Castanho, and, on the twentieth of October, proceed together to the Cururu and S. Manoel. On the eleventh of September we reached the mouth of the Crepori, at the right margin. One can see far away down the river into the distance. It gave me the similar impression of the Parú river, in Almeirim. At the right margin is the rubber property of Colonel Brazil; at the left margin Marcolino Ferreira Nascimento. At the upper Crepori live around fifty Munduruku indians and it takes at least twenty days to get there²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ "O trecho do Tapajoz de Cuatú-Cuara até a Boca do Crepori não deixa de ser interessante. N'água, belos peixinhos de rabo vermelho. Na margem direita, altos morros; menos altos na esquerda. Vegetação exuberante, nas capoeiras às margens pululam pássaros coloridos. Mais ao longe, berram guaribas no fundo do mato. Em frente à ilha se estende uma praia arenosa. Na margem esquerda, massivos rochosos com vegetação parcial, que me fazem lembrar de trechos entre Raiz da Serra e Petrópolis. Em todo o percurso não se vê terra cultivada. Aqui e ali, numa clareira precária, aparece uma cabana de seringueiro, de onde sobe uma fumaça branca. O leito do rio é raso e arenoso. Periquitos e papagaios dançam sobre a mata. As rochas da margem esquerda parecem branco-avermelhadas. Na margem direita surgem, alternadamente, mururés, canaranas e aningueiras. Em ambos os lados, preciosos seringais. Às 9 horas (10 de setembro) o rio se estreita"

²⁵⁶ "Às 7 da manhã seguiu-se para a Ilha Preciosa, e de lá ao Rio Crepori. Subimos o rio pela margem direita. Trecho interessante, pelas muitas ilhas compridas. De vez em

According to one of the Cururu Mission priests, on the left margin of the *Chacorão* Waterfall lay the last Munduruku village of the Tapajós named *Sauré* (Kruse, 1933: 26). The Chacorão and Capoeiras ended at the Munduruku village of *Aipin-in-pê* after the mouth of the Pixuna river and before the *Uéchictapiri*²⁵⁷ and the Airí fields connecting inland the Sucunduri river (Octavio Pinto, 1930: 311).

André Ramos (2000) in interview with Nezinho Saw mentions that most of the Munduruku living in the Sai Cinza village were living in two traditional villages of the fields before moving: Arõ and Samauma. The regatões entered the Cadiriri river just below the port, where they waited for the Munduruku to go out to the Seringais to exchange rubber for industrialized merchandise. After the rubber prices fell, the regatões left the Cadiriri and the Munduruku started to go down to the Tapajós in search of goods and to occupy Sai Cinza.

The Samauma village still existed at the time of Mense's visit, and apparently their inhabitants were tattooed and the younger girls had their inner-lips pierced with a *batoque*.

The *Paranawát*, together with some other Tupi-related languages, has been in intense permanent contact with the surrounding society since the Rondon Expedition at the beginning of the 20th century (Ribeiro, 1957). According to this General they were a group composed by the Pauatê, Tacuatêpe, Majubim and Ipoteuat. João Barbosa de Faria, however, could only gather most of this new vocabulary with the help of an Indian called Generoá, including also Quipikriwat, Arikeme and Nambikwara words (Rondon e Faria: 1948, see map below). He met a Tacuatêpe chief called Pae Thimoteo, living in the Machado. Claude Levi-Strauss (1938), writes that while living with one of the Kagwahiva clans, he heard that the Tacuatêpe (or

quando, um cardume de peixes. Às 12 horas encontramos a embarcação do Sr. Coronel Cyrillo Bello, com quem se havia combinado a viagem. Um padre deveria ficar em Castanho, para depois seguir viagem ao Rio das Tropas, outro deveria ir a Paraizo, e de lá voltar a Castanho, para depois, dia 20 de outubro, viajar-se juntos para Cururu e S. Manoel. À uma e meia da tarde de 11 de setembro alcançamos a foz do Rio Crepory, na margem direita. Pode-se enxergar bem longe para dentro desse afluente do Tapajoz. Pareceu-me semelhante à foz do Rio Parú, em Almeirim. Na margem direita está o barracão do Coronel Brazil; na margem esquerda, Marcolino Ferreira Nascimento. No Alto Crepory há cerca de 50 índios munduruku. É preciso cerca de 20 dias até se chegar às malocas”

²⁵⁷ One of the expressions collected by Dionei Gomes under the particle di/ti (liquid) of a name is *wexik ti*, tattoo ink, or literally, potato water (Gomes, 2006: 298).

Tacvatip) meant that they were the bamboo people living between the mouth of the Comemoração (currently Barão de Melgaço) and the Rolim de Moura.

The Ipotwat (or Ipotiavat) were the liana people, a type of plant, and lived in the Comemoração itself. The Majubim lived in the Ricardo Franco and the Pauatê in the upper Machado. Besides these four, there were at least another eighteen different neighboring groups. They were the Mialat, Kaipatebwat, Iwurahifiwet, Wirafet, Ingwahifet, Ikiafet, Itatiwet, Iohipfet, Maniwet, Nanderiwat, Miupfet, Awatsi, Iupferangen, Wulerupferangen, Iribat or Irifet, Tucumahipfet or Tucumanfet and finally, the Jabotifet. Each of the groups had its own chief, as the author himself managed to describe:

The Takwatip was commanded by the Abaitara chief. At the same river side one can find: at the North a group only known by the name of his chief Pitasara. To the South, on the Tamuripa river, the Ipotiwat (name of a liana plant) under the leadership of Kamandjara; between the Tamuripa and the Cocal river live Maira with the Jabotifet (people from the turtle) (Levi-Strauss 1958: 398-99)²⁵⁸

All of these different groups appear in Dengler's map as the Tupi-Kawahib of the Riozonho (1927: 379) living on the delta formed by the Machado and the Castanha river, close to Nambikwara lands. The Munduruku do not appear in the map, even though we know they are mentioned by Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira more than a hundred years earlier.

Hunting Season

²⁵⁸ "Les Takwatip étaient commandés par le chief Abaitara. Du même côté de la rivière se trouvaient: au nord une bande inconnue, sauf par le nom de son chef Pitasara. Au sud, sur le Rio Tamuripa, les Ipotiwat (nom d'une liane) dont le chef se nommait Kamandjara; puis, entre cette dernière rivière et l'Igarapé du Cocal, les Jabotifet ('gens de la Tortue'), chef Maira"

It is important to highlight the difference between the weekly movements of fishing, hunting and collecting around certain dispersed villages and more prolonged indigenous movements of migration for war, ritual and commerce. Both are intrinsically related to the Amazonian seasonal variation between summer and winter and both of them relied on signs and forest marks for spatial orientation into the territory. When groups take different routes, they use elaborate ways of communicating and finding their way in the middle of the forest. The Kaxuyana from the Trombetas river, for example, makes use of bush branches to demarcate the way for groups staying behind. The branches are put in the middle of the path, communicating to two or more villages that the road is closed. The same is used for hunting trails (Friel s/n: 104). The Bororo, Karajá and Rondônia Gavião communicate their positions by whistling.

During the winter, however, annual rituals were held at one specific place of the territory congregating different discrete units, so as to create a group known, to the outsider, as the grand warrior Mundurucu. It is not strange, then, to hear that the Mundurucu lived at war at the Tapajós Campinas, because it is usually there that the whole group met. Robert Murphy was certain that:

the traditional location of their villages has been in a high and hilly area inland from the Tapajós, between the Cururu and Tropas rivers. This is a region of mixed savannah and forest in which several minor tributaries of the Tapajós have their headwaters. Topographically, this high savannah land is a continuation of the Serra do Cachimbo, it extends northwestward through the Mundurucu country and across the Tapajós at the Cachoeira de Capoeira e Chacorão²⁵⁹. Beyond this point there is some savannah land at the headwaters of the Secundury and Abacaxis rivers, but the terrain soon flattens out into great, forested Amazon

²⁵⁹ The waterfalls themselves could also be fragmented in travessões, as Coudreau describes in this passage: “Sem representarem ponderosas cachoeiras, os travessões do Chacorão proporcionam regulares diculdades. Lage, Anhandi, Biué, sobretudo exigem bom piloto e uma equipagem ativa”(…) “No travessão de Porto Velho, igualmente na direção das campinas, termina o Chacorão. Logo acima estão a bacia das Capoeiras e os nove travessões seguintes: Entrada, Campinha, Chafariz, Cabeceira do Chafariz, Baunilha, Sirga Torta, Saída, Meia Carga, Cabeceira da Meia Carga” (Coudreau, 1897, 60-1)

lowland encompassed by the Negro and Madeira rivers (Murphy, 1978 [1960]: 13).

During the summer, however, due to the pressure exerted by the rubber-tapping activity, the group spreads out along the different rivers of the territory composing smaller units known to outsiders as clans. It could be interesting to analyze the type of socio-spatial communication they maintained and to speculate if the radius of effective kinship was greater in the dry season than in the wet, as Evans Pritchard finds for the Nuer marriage (Evans-Pritchard, 1951). Combined with the seasonal social variation, food availability in the gardens forced intra-territorial migration between the various units, forming other nuclei (Frikel, 1959: 29) sometimes with different names so that ecological changes could be “mapped onto productive cycles and thus onto changes in social order” (Harris, 1998: 68). Seasonality in the Tapajós territory depends on the pluvial regime of the Juruena and Teles Pires watersheds and also on the Jamanchim, a main right-side tributary. Anthropologist Robert Murphy believed that tribal integration was not necessarily practised in the subsistence economy but, however, exercised during warfare and ceremony involving intercommunity organization and participation. Longer warfare expeditions could travel more than 500 miles away from the Munduruku country and stay up to one year in the field, leaving the villages during the rainy season and returning before the next. Usually:

When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next (Murphy, 1956: 416; Murphy, 1957: 1022)²⁶⁰.

The longest and most severe rainy period in the upper Tapajós is between November and April and is called *hihi*. The dry season is called *koato*. In the ethno-ecological report produced by the Munduruku themselves in 2004 we read:

²⁶⁰ Just like the Munduruku, the *mambat si*, mothers of the rain, wander afar during the summer and return to their homes in September, followed by the Munduruku themselves.

During October and November rains begin. The Munduruku perceive the beginning of the rainy and dry seasons through information given by the forest. When the flowers of the quatubá tree (koato'abimatit), bloom red, for example, it is a sign that the dry season is going to begin, contrary to this, when flowers start to appear in the savage ingá it is a proof that rains are approaching (FUNAI, 2008: 137)²⁶¹

Headhunting ceremonies were also held during this epoch, but were secondary to the most important Munduruku ritual, the Ceremony of the Game. It was during this period that:

The Munduruku felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clan or the feeling of being one of the "people", as they called themselves (Murphy, 1956: 416)

The aptitude for war is the aptitude for movement (Virilio, 1993 [1984]: 19) and savannah life required much walking, Murphy continues:

The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must take at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of flour has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens (Murphy, 1960: 160).

What we do know is that the approximately 350 *camboat* inhabitants dispersed themselves in small "clusters in groups of two or three blood related nuclear families, although many lived in a single family isolation" (Murphy, 1954: 99). These temporary dwellings produced rubber during the dry season to sell to *patroes* proprietors in the Tropas river, just as Cândido Pinto, and in the *Sai Cinza* and São Martinho trading posts. Contact between Munduruku families was maintained by trails that paralleled

²⁶¹ "Nos meses de outubro a novembro, iniciam as chuvas. Os Munduruku percebem o início das estações seca e chuvosa através de informações da floresta. Quando as flores vermelhas da árvore "quatubá" florescem (koato'abimatit), é um indicativo que vai iniciar a época seca, e quando o ingá do mato começa a florescer, isto é um indicativo de que a época das chuvas se aproxima"

the rivers (idem). Harris (1998) highlights that for caboclo life, spatial dispersal of people at the end of October reflects freedom of movement. This is also true for the indigenous history of the upper Tapajós, a time when Indians went to participate in warrior expeditions or long hunts. It is interesting to note, however, why that is so. One could think that the abundance of river water easy communication using canoes. What we see, however, is that movement was not only performed in the main rivers, just like the Tapajós, were only a reference point for the inlands. In other words, Indian villages turned their back on the rivers, making much more use of the hinterland streams for visiting and trading. Not everyone coming from the lower main trunk of the river was considered to be an Indian. As for the headhunters Munduruku, for example, Albert Kruse, mentions that many people were called strangers, or *pariwat*, while:

The Munduruku living at the Madeira and the Xingu are not *Pariwat*; they are *Bari!pnye*, relatives (Kruse, s/n: 17- 24)²⁶²

When Kruse first mentions the expression *weidyenye*, he highlights that it was only used by a Munduruku speaking about his fellows, and that a designation for the whole nation did not exist (1934: 52). The illusion of a stable social form is corroborated by the idea that the Munduruku themselves claimed they were becoming white. To be Munduruku, or to be white were only poles in a continuum of different perspectives. Just as it is difficult to identify a sociological unity in the colonization process, as we have seen throughout this thesis, it is also difficult to predict which elements contribute to the collective identity of a people. Collectives can emerge anywhere and to relate with the whites is also an opportunity to be them for a little while never being entirely transformed. The place the animals occupy in the Munduruku myths and rituals offers the same kind of ambiguity (Almeida, 2010:108).

The words 'Parintintim' and 'Munduruku' are sources of controversies and ambiguities. They are somehow accusatory terms, but usually given as white explanations for indigenous groups. When discussing the Munduruku, some say that it was a word given by the Parintintim neighbors meaning "red ants", alluding to their

²⁶² "Os Mundurucus moradores do Madeira e do Xingu não são *pariwat*. Eles são *bari!pnye*, parentes"

warrior spirit (Leopoldi, 1979). People living in Belém still refer to the Munduruku as the red ants because just like them, they are small and ferocious and never dare to attack alone. Affirming exactly the contrary, Gondim (1925) mentions the word 'Parintintim' as a denomination given by the Munduruku to their enemies. Harris (2010) remembers that even after the pacification of the Munduruku it was up to individual headmen to move their people downriver and establish personal relations with the whites suggesting that "there was no coherent or general strategy on behalf of the Munduruku to resettle *en masse*" (158). In the literature, we find that the single name Munduruku is used to refer to different independent groups. The issue, therefore, is how the different regional subgroups interrelate (Leopoldi, 1979: 139), more than who the 'real' Munduruku are.

The plurality then, is constituent of how their neighbours refer to these larger groups. Munduruku self-identification, however, is *wuyjugu* sometimes referred to as *wuyju*²⁶³. While at the same time, the first person of the plural has an exclusive form that is *oceju*.

The AdaiAdai Hunting Ceremony

Robert Murphy dedicates an entire section of his book Munduruku Religion to a discussion of the *Araiarai* and *Dajearuparip* ceremonies for the spirit mothers of game animals. Hunting involved the hunting act, but also the hunting story, or representation of the hunting. We also believe that hunting the animals was associated with headhunting and similar festivities, only varying in the duration of the ceremony. According to him, only the dreamers or *cheseretaibitchanyen* had the power to learn the songs that are sung during these ceremonies (Murphy, 1958: 27). In Stromer's translation he portrays the AdaiAdai Cerimony as some sort of homage to the animal heads:

²⁶³ In his vocabulary of arithmetical, geometrical and spatial content, Pierre Pica notices that the word *wuy* could also mean far (Pica et al)

toast-head, toast head, say, pig, head, face, head – another time them, house, dancing, men and hammocks - women in hammocks, little mouth make much tapir – head – make head – sit and put them, us (people) pork head, also a lot of agouti heads, also deer and *quatá* heads. Everybody's head, yes, the jaguar head please, not monkeys heads, no quati, no guariba, not even quatá – heads yes, we smoke the heads, all the men. We smoke and then go hunting (Stromer, 1932)²⁶⁴

Murphy describes cloaked dancers moving from house to house performing the *kiú*²⁶⁵ flute, which consisted of bamboo tubes and a reed made from the root of the *paxiuba* palm. According to Murphy, this was the same instrument as the one called *parasoi* used on occasions. The cloak was made of long fronds of the *buriti* palm, including a *buriti* leaf belt and a *buriti* leaf crown. Animal skulls were offered to the Mother of the Game disposed of near the Men's House. These were organized by species. The most important skull was from a non-identified animal withdrawn from the Men's house. Second in importance was the tapir skull. In front of all the other animal skulls were those of two coatá monkeys – probably *Daoawatpu*, the mother of the forest – whose function was “to guide the spirit mother to the Men's house, in the same manner as the coatá monkey. It is believed to lead game through the forest” (Murphy, 1958: 60). The skulls were washed with a solution of the *envira cheirosa* combined with *mörí* sweet manioc gruel. On the second day, people dressed in two teams. Two men were chosen to be the coatá-monkey and the others remained as white collar-peccaries (wild-pigs). After the scene of the men trying to shoot the coatá-monkeys with bows and arrows from the men's house the women started to chase the

²⁶⁴ “cabeça-torrar cabeça-torrar dizer porco cabeça rosto cabeça-eles em outra vez casa por dançar homem redes – em mulher ir redes-em pequena-boca fazer muito anta – cabeça - cabeça fazer-sentar-colocar eles nós [pessoas] porco cabeça também muito cutia cabeça também cervo cabeça também quatá cabeça todos cabeças sim onça cabeça por gentileza nada macacos cabeça nada quati cabeça nada guariba cabeça nada quatá cabeça sim nós defumar todos cabeça todos homens sim defumar depois caçar”

²⁶⁵ Catarina Saw makes us believe that “kio” was only the reed, but considers itself a small instrument that was inserted inside the bigger *parasui* flute. The instruments were played when people were happy. According to Catarina, when they are played, they inserted their arms inside the arms of their colleagues and with the arms tight they play.

men transformed in peccaries to bring them to the fire. The women sang the peccary (dajekco) song and smeared the men with white clay. On the third day the Mother of the Tapir (Biuší) appeared and went alone isolation into the forest singing the Tapir songs. On this occasion they painted themselves with urucú and genipa²⁶⁶. In this a ceremony the animal skulls were placed in order and organized by type of species. They sang the song of each species in front of the skull.

According to Tawe, following the tale of the *Uktupopo*, animal heads are washed and treated with the *envira cheirosa* skin, *tapuru* ink and a paste of corn which can be translated by the verb *surabidadam* (Crofts, 541). The tortoise, the grasshopper and the toucan were also acknowledged in this ceremony (Murphy, 1958: 61). Munduruku hunting activity is believed to be dirty and bring prejudice to the game. The hunting ceremony should be performed on each occasion of the hunt to clean the objects lodged into the animal's head spirit. Murphy says that the *möri*, or sweet manioc drink, pleased the spirit mothers and a bowl was kept beside the skulls. They were placed upon a carpet of *patauá* and banana leaves, on the floor and then separated by groups of animals. Meanwhile other groups of people engaged in different activities such as painting the chestnut shell, the *kio* flutes, the *waycõn* bench or manufacturing cotton threads and decorating the caterpillar wood. In the following section we try to analyze some elements of this ceremony in a wider mythological framework.

Wakupari and Wawdadibika. War in the Tapuru Ink River.

One type of ink used by the Munduruku Indians was extracted from a paste of mixed dead caterpillar bodies. Tapuru is a kind of caterpillar which grows in fermented environments or rotten food in the Amzon region. The Munduruku call the *igarapé Sura'ip*²⁶⁷ (Tawe, 1977: 235) the river of the tapuru ink²⁶⁸ (Crofts, 1986: 541), a place

²⁶⁶ The *nane* doll, also used in this ceremony, for example, is made from the genipapo root or from “(d)a raiz onde a anta desce ao rio” (Tawe, 1977: 183). A mixture of genipapo dye managed by a shaman can turn day into night (Murphy, 1958: 85)

²⁶⁷ Objects classified as *-ip* means they have a wood or baton shape. Objects classified as *-bu* are cylindrical and flexible and as *-dao/tao* like bone (Gomes, 2006).

where the village of *Wawdadibika* was almost entirely exterminated. Here we briefly recall that story.

At a certain point in time, a war erupted between the villages of *Wakupari* and *Wawdadibika*. *Wawdadibika* was the village of the white deer or swamp-deer and had a population of around 3,000 (Tawe, 1977: 219). At the time this story was told, the head chief of the village was Sa (Murphy, 1958: 108), but the village united three other big chiefs: Suiresuire (Soiresoire); Iguybubonbon (Ibobonbon) and Ajepirempirem (Watipenempenem). The story begins when *Wako'orebu* killed a child in *Wawdadibikabuk*²⁶⁹. Wanting revenge, the four allied chiefs elaborated a strategy for killing *Wako'orebu* and invited him to teach them how to manufacture red macaw feather helmets. This was a particular specialization of the inhabitants of the village of *Wakupari*. Their strategy was to seduce *Wako'orebu*'s companions with food (chestnut porridge/mingau de castanha). At the point when his bodyguards went to defecate the food, *Wako'orebu* would be alone and easily killed. However, an old woman who did not receive meat from her fellows served as a spy. With the excuse of going into the forest to collect firewood she secretly advised *Wakoburum* (*Uákubarap*, Kruse), his sister, about the dangers he was about to face. Even though *Wako'orebu* had a wife in *Wawdadibik*, warriors from that village headhunted him. The people from *Wakupari* became revolted and went to revenge the death of *Wako'orebu*. This occurred as follows: *Wakoborum* went to "the village of Sa and there he sang to the people until they fell asleep" (Murphy, 1958: 109). She stole her brother's head and transformed herself into the corujão da noite (Murphy, 1958: 109). In another version, *Wakoborum*, in revenge, enters the village of Sa painted with mud and sings the song for different animals and elements including the bacaba²⁷⁰, the acai da vagem, the tucumanzeiro and the parrot. While the enemies sleep she runs away protected by the cutia song that ensures her steps and movements become inaudible. Finally, she manages to

²⁶⁸ Tapuru is a general name for caterpillars which stay in the bark of the tree, or in spoiled fruits. It can be found in excrements as well. We know of the existence of a river in the region called Tapurucurazinho.

²⁶⁹ The story of the competition between the tortoise and the deer can serve as an example of how the people from Iguybubonbon and Sa pursued them, forming what can be considered the path that leads to the village of the white deer

²⁷⁰ The story of the swallow, recorded by Kruse (1946-9: 655) describes a couple transforming themselves in swallows while gathering *bacaba*.

return her brother's skull and transforms herself into the night owl (corujão da noite)²⁷¹:
This is part of her chant:

hanged leaf
hanged leaf
from the acai
hanged leaf
when I would turn
when I would turn, Yes
(...)
I was passing
In the middle of the people
I walked in the middle of the people
Nobody passes me
I passed everyone, Yes (Tawe, 1977: 247-50)²⁷²

Wawdadibika and Wakupari are not fictional places. They are part of the story colonial history that were beyond the reach of colonial history. According to Kruse, inter-village fights started to occur in the fields of the Tapajós after the chief *Karuwaybi* went to live there. *Karuwaybi* was a warrior of the village of Wakupari in the headwaters of the Tropas river²⁷³. He engaged in fighting Sa, from the Bhawrarika (Wawdadibika) village, the village of the white deer as we have just seen, localized at the headwaters of the Kabitutu river. The killing of *Wako'orebu* and the returning of his head united different families in helping *Karodaibi* to perform his revenge. Only the good families were able to help him, that is: the family of the grey pauraque (bacurau-açu/pukorawpikpik), the large size swallow (andorinha/pusurukaw), the rail/trogon (saracura/surucuá de barriga amarela?) (saricú grande/cêgêcêgê-cũgêcũgê), the parrot

²⁷¹ The bacurau is a nocturnal bird. Its Tupi name is Waku'rawá and in the South this bird is known as corujão (Inhering).

²⁷² Folha pendurada, Folha pendurada, De acai, Folha pendurada só, Folha pendurada só, Quando eu ia virar, Quando eu ia virar...Sim (...), Eu estava passando, Pelo monte de pessoal, Pelo monte de pessoal andei, Ninguém me passa, Passei todos...Sim.

²⁷³ In Kruse's version, every time *Wakoborum* arrived at *Wawdadibika* they offered her animal heads, and she replied: "I don't want animal heads, I want *Wako'orebo's* head" (Kruse, 1946-9: 318).

(curica encarnada/suiresuire) and the red dove (jurití/waremuco pak) birds. *Waremuco*²⁷⁴ is in the list of the red clan (Sousa, 2008: 48). They went in revenge against *Wawdadibikabuk*.

Peresoatpu was learning to catch the Tapir. An epopee was narrated to test his hunting skills (Murphy, 1958: 95). He wanted to take the stomach out of the tapir by its anus. He got to know most of the game Munduruku ate. He was taken by a tapir who was, supposedly, his uncle, who had transformed into a tapir to teach him how to hunt. His uncle, carried *Peresoatpu* with him and showed him the world around them, including the part of the world that was underwater. His name was *Karójorebu* (Tawe, 1977: 186, Murphy, 1958: 95). He ended up getting stuck in the tapir's anus following his uncle into different places. This description, in turn, resembles, again, the myth of the beginning of the world in which Karosakaibê makes an image of an armadillo and asks for Rayru to hold. Rayru gets stuck in the armadillo's tail and meets the people under the earth. Then, when his uncle, the tapir, defecates he gets the chance to take his arm out, but his arm turns white. His uncle goes away to die and he begins to chase him experiencing different adventures and places along the way. His first adventure then, is when *Peresoat* wants to cross the river by calling a crocodile. According to Inhering, it is called *mborepirape* "a vereda aberta pela anta na mata e assim também denominavam os índios, a Via-Láctea" (Inhering, 1968: 92). The question that arises is whether we can imagine a tapir in the sky, or to see the sky and imagine that it only exists because some ancient story happened there connected the Tapir hunting.

But the connection between the Milky Way and the Tapir is not so easy to track. *Nung-Nung* is the name given by the Munduruku to the Milky-Way. In fact, the *Nung-Nung* hammock appears as the Milky-Way, and *Nung-Nung* himself as the stars. But before that, *Nung-Nung* was imagined as a dog in human form (Murphy, 1958: 86). During the course of *Nung-Nung*'s life his wife abandoned him for his younger brother, just as *Yurichungpo* did with *Karodaiibi*. *Nung-Nung* then ascended to the sky in his hammock (Kruse, 1951: 1007), and like Muraycoko could have ascended to draw on the Cantagalo rocks. *Nung-Nung* liked to imprison caititu in a hole and kill them, one by one, just as Karosakaibö did, after transforming his sisters into wild-pigs.

²⁷⁴ Kruse's remark is the same as Waremsanabê (Waremuco is the juriti clan, and the word warem only means jenipapo). The parrot and the juriti helped Karodaibi in his revenge against Yurichumpo.

But instead of becoming fat and hairy in the story of Karosakaibö, they become very thin. Nung-Nung makes clear his attitude towards Karodaiibi also in the act of snipping the lice heads off, but keeping their bodies. Daydö was given a punishment by Karosakaibö of having to hold a stone, in the form of a pan, and later on transformed in the sky. After that, the time of haze ended and souls could go to the sky “not having to stay under the roofs” (Kruse, 1951:1000). If we believe that the rock paintings have some relation to the sky and the stars it is possible to imagine the urucum dye and the animal drawings as playing some important role in Munduruku history. In fact, “The Munduruku believe the sky to be a dome of rock” (Murphy, 1958: 88).

Darebu, also known as *KabaDarebu* was the person in charge of making the famous *kadoku* instruments and the chief involved in housing one of the *Adai’Adai* Festival. In Munduruku narrative *Darebu* said to his brother-in-law that he no longer wanted to live in a state of war, he was war-weary, tired of his bloody arrows. “I am going to the water”, he said²⁷⁵. Before going, however, he stored the *waykonpidoydoy* bench. *Darebu* walked together with *Boroben* and *Böröare*. *Böröare* also had flutes adorned with *kerepo* feathers. Adorning the flute was done by singing a magic song, which helped her to insert the feathers. The song goes more or less like this:

It is adorned with *kerepo* feathers

(...)

attracts game

(...)

It is adorned with *kerepo* feathers

(...)

It is adorned with *kerepo* feathers

(Tawe et al, 1977: 178-9)²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵ The Kabá fell into the water and went to live there singing:

Vamos cair nágua, Onde caiu (antes) nossa irmã, Onde caiu (antes) Ikõmbêg, Onde fez cair aquela que fez vinho doce (Tawe, 1977: 208). *Ikõ* (Kruse *Iku-riwat*) is a type of eagle and a Munduruku clan pertained to the white moiety. It is also a noun meaning “someone’s tongue” (Crofts: 211). We believe this song could refer to *Karuekabö’s* tongue, as we shall see below: it explains why the crocodile lives in the water and does not have a tongue. It also talks about the Tapir and its sky tracks.

²⁷⁶ “essa está enfeitada de pena de *kerepo* (...) chama a caça (...) essa está enfeitada de pena de *kerepo* (...) essa está enfeitada de pena de *kerepo*”

In the single volume of the 'Integrated Project for Protection of the Legal Amazonia Populations and Indigenous Lands (PPTAL)' we read that the piaba chant was also valued by the old people, to the extent that it is taught in the schools today:

When killing an animal is good to sing for him. The chanting makes the animals happier. Everybody does. We have the piaba chant, so she could be happy. Songs approximate the Munduruku from the animals, it is good for them to appear. We have specific songs for each animal; for the piaba, for the matrinxã [types of amazonian fish]. The old people used much. At this time the animals communicate between them. Karosakaybu transformed into every animal, tapir, porcão. We too, were transformed into animals, queixada, tapir. This was at the old times. They are important stories for us. They are the stories of the Munduruku relations with the animals, with nature. I teach the students and they like them. So the people know (PPTAL, 2008: 79)²⁷⁷

We have already seen that anthropologists believe fishing to have been a secondary economic activity for the Munduruku that they took up as a result of acculturation and the migration from the savannah environment to the nearest navigable streams. Once they began fishing they had to establish new techniques for dry season fishing. An important way to kill fish was using the timbó poison and timbó communal fishing expeditions were organized on several occasions, dividing people into different groups, from several communities, at different streams. Sometimes it was necessary to build dams made of branches set into the bottom of the stream. This technique was perfect to catch the Matrinxã fish (*Brycon breviceudatus* Gunther) that

²⁷⁷ "Quando mata animal é bom cantar para ele. Cantar alegra os animais. Todo mundo faz. Tem a música da piaba para ela ficar alegre. O canto aproxima os animais dos Munduruku, aproxima eles. O canto é bom para que elas apareçam. Tem música para cada animal, para a piaba, para o matrinxã. Os antigos é que usavam muito. Nessa época, os animais se entendiam com os animais. O Karosakaybu virava todos os bichos, anta, porcão. A gente também virava bicho, virava queixada, anta. Isso era os antigos. Essas histórias são importantes para nós. Essas histórias ensinam os Munduruku sobre suas relações com os animais, com a natureza. Eu conto para os meus alunos e eles gostam. Assim os meninos sabem" (homem Munduruku, 30 anos, Aldeia Santa Maria, 2004)

swam up the smaller streams every night to sleep and then returned downstream with the coming of the day (Murphy, 1954: 23). This same situation, as we have just seen, was what gave origin to the waterfall rocks, in Kruse's story about the alligator.

As we previously talked about the *Yakanabubu* necklace then is the object that represents, for the Munduruku, one of the great battles they fought against the Kayapó. The main group representing them was the one specified as the *Kabadarebu*²⁷⁸ people who also possessed flutes adorned with *kerepo* feathers.

Getting Down From the Tree: The Yabuti Saga and the Tapir Transformations

This section will discuss the tapir hunting in order to give one more description to exemplify the *Adai'Adai* ceremony of the game. In what follows we give a comprehensive account of the *Yabuti Saga* comparing it to the similarity with *Peresoat* adventures, both of them told in the book of Munduruku myths and legends organized by Ciriro Waro, Caetano Cabá, Amâncio Cabá (Biboi) and Floriano Tawe.

There are many versions of this Saga, but broadly speaking, they tell the story of the Yabuti descending from a tree and searching for the tapir in a place where there is game in abundance. In his wanderings, the yabuti encounters the alligator, the prego-monkey, the jaguar, the deer, another jaguar and finally, the tapir (Tawe et al, 1977: 197). Just like *Peresoat*, the Yabuti was stuck on the top of a Inajá tree when cheated by prego-monkeys. Unable to get down, he stays on the top of the tree until the jaguar appears in the ground willing to eat him, a motif that appeared above. The Yabuti manages to cheat the Jaguar by descending safely from the tree. He starts to eat buriti fruits and verbally attacked by the Tapir. Wanting to take revenge against the Tapir he travels a long distance in search of him, only following the trail left by the tapir dung. Just then *Peresoat* goes poop and asks for his excrement to answer all the jaguar's questions while he manages to escape (Tawe, 1977: 155, Murphy, 1958: 124). *Peresoat* sings the song of the Tapir for the alligators:

²⁷⁸ Darebu is the person who made the *kadoku* instruments and the one who housed the *Adai'Adai* festival. What might this baton mean for the people involved?

Take me to the other side
Where the toucans sing
With a sad voice
Where Warimucodit
Sings with a sad voice

Take me to the other side
Where the toucans sing
With a sad voice
Where Warimucodit
Sings with a sad voice
(Tawe et al, 1977: 136-7)²⁷⁹

According to Crofts, the meaning of the word *Warimucodit* is “part of a chant to the tapir in an old story” (Crofts, 1986: 597). This chant to the Tapir could be imagined as a chant to Karosakaybo’s son, who has been transformed into a Tapir. The song recorded by Murphy is a little bit different for the same situation. He calls the *juriti branco* to help him:

Come and get me
Where the animals are singing
Where they are
Their voices are sad
The toucan with a barely heard voice
Jurittí, jurití, white jurití (Murphy, 1958: 97)²⁸⁰

²⁷⁹ Me leva para o outro lado, Onde os tucanos cantam, Com voz triste ,Onde Warimucodit, Canta com voz triste (2X)

²⁸⁰ The Amazonian Jurutí is a bird that popularly gives a sense of dread for the people who hear him. According to Inhering: “Na Amazonia designa uma pomba mística, encantada, que paralisa as suas vítimas (em tupi: ‘pepena’ – aquele que faz quebrar)” (Inhering: 400). Also, Juriti and Inambu are the only two birds Karosakaibê ate, in the beginning of times, and the birds that caused discord among his sisters. The refusal from the people of *Wakupari* to exchange the *caititu* meat for the *Juriti/inambu* birds is what generates the enclosure of them and its transformation in wild pigs. Feather of the Jacú, Mutum and Macaw magically transformed itself in an enclosure. The son of

Not willing to share the tapir meat with a hungry jaguar, the Yabuti manages to kill him as well as making a flute out of one of the Jaguar legs and singing:

Here is the bone of Yauarite. How ugly it is (Murphy, 1958: 123)

A party begins. The Prego Monkeys are participating as well as the people called *Akarewatwat* (Kayapó). The Prego-Monkey knew how to play the *kadoku* instruments; they made dances for everybody; they were always at the festivities with the *yakanabubu* instrument (Tawe et al, 1977: 32-33). According to Crofts, *Kadocoitcooit* is the instrument which imitates the voice of the macaw and the *Kado'arurut* is the instrument which imitates the voice of the incarnate macaw (Crofts: 328). *Kado* is a wood and is the same name used for the sacred *kadoko* (karoko) flutes²⁸¹. Menget believes that the Munduruku myth of the origin of the karökö flutes was strictly related to the *Yamurikumã* myth from the upper Xingu (Menget, 1993: 316). Toucans and macaws are not appreciated for their meat, as it is too hard, but instead for beaks and plumages. During the annual feast in honor of the various spirits of the trumpet each village brings its own *karökö* instruments.

The wild pigs, who had their noses transformed from the tauari bark, when tasted liberty instantaneously ate Daydu out of anger and began to persecute the son of Karosakaybö who successively transformed himself into a wasp, snake, water and then into a tapir. The wooden pestle and the *tauari* bark, both elements shared by the caterpillar, participate in the transformation of *Korumtao* into a Tapir. In Murphy's

Karosakaibê managed to put the feathers around his aunts village because he transformed himself in a bird. When he finished to put down the feathers he climbed a tree and said: *taokiriiii jöjöt* (Tawe, 1977: 18) which means "The feather is well tied" but it is also an old song of a bird (Crofts, 322). The Juriti voice is a "ru-gu-gu-gu-hu melancólico, como que soprado e no entanto audível a grande distância" (Inhering, 400). It would be an irony if, transformed in Juriti, Korumtau condemned aunts that didn't like to eat Juriti.

²⁸¹ Stroemer recorded that: "We want so badly to pull our husbands out of the water" (Nós queremos tanto puxar nossos maridos para fora), so the women say. Now the only thing that rests are the tapirs because you are greedy. But then so the women fell into the water. That's the way it is told (Stroemer, 1932: 136)

version it was *Karosakaybö* who was responsible for transforming his son into an ant, a grasshopper and a cricket:

He sized him by the nose and yanked, giving him a long snout, then stretched the boy's ears and banged the sides of his head to make the head narrow. He next grabbed him by the back of the neck so as to produce a hump, and stretched his penis to enormous size. He then took a large wooden pestle and rammed it into the boy's anus shouting "Go away". As he ran away, Karosakaibö threw a piece of tauarí bark over him, and it turned into a thick hide. In essence, the boy had been converted into a tapir. From this moment on this particular tapir became known as Anyocaitche (Murphy, 1958: 75)

The *tauarí* caterpillar is the *cokorebu*. The radical – *coko* also means urucum (Crofts 66).

In Stroemer's dictionary, the word *pari* means both "away/at a distance" and the name of a white wood tree. This means that the groups known as Paribiteté (Paribitatá) and Paririndin were also distant relatives of the actual Munduruku. In the linguistic vocabulary collected by Hoehne he highlights some words that interest us directly. Talking about the other tribes, he mentions the Munduruku called the Nambikwara²⁸², *paribitata*.

The name Nambikwara were mentioned for the first time, and only by hearsay, by Antonio Pires de Campos at the beginning of the 18th century. Since then the name appeared several times with reference to an unknown tribe located on the headwaters of the Tapajós. There is a great discrepancy between the different spellings. When General (then Colonel) Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon began to explore the land between the Tapajós and the Gi-Paraná, in 1907, he met with an unknown group speaking several dialects or an unknown language, and he did not hesitate to identify them with the tribe often mentioned in the early documents. It was at that time that the name Nambikwara was definitely adopted, its spelling fixed, and that it was recognized

²⁸² Also written as Nambiquara and Nhambikwara

as a Tupi nickname the meaning of which is ‘big ears’. But the Nambikwara do not have big ears or use auricular discs (Levi-Strauss, 1946).

The Parintintim are the *pariat* and the Tapanhunus, the *paridindins*, for the Munduruku. The Apiaká are the same Apiaká. The other indigenous groups known by the Munduruku are the *Ipjuat*; the bats or *Moreu-uat*; the Parintins or *quaty-posua-uat*; the Bocca preta or *Ibixenamani* and finally the small Parintins or *paribibu-uat*. (182-3)²⁸³.

Moreover, according to Stromer, *moreux hu* meaning “the bat is sleeping” is a Munduruku expression used to denote all their enemies, especially the Parintintim (Stromer, 1932). *Anyocaitche* (*Anuakayt’é*), the Tapir, ran into the middle of the forest until he reached the *Karukupí* river, the place where the Munduruku women went to bathe. He attracted the attention of the women who started to make intercourse with him just as they had been doing with *Karosakaybö’s* son. The men from the village only became aware of this situation when someone, by chance, heard them bathing and calling for *Anyocaitche*. The spy then, went back to the village and raised the alarm for his kismen who then go and try to hunt the Tapir, finally eating *Karosakaibö’s* son. In Murphy’s version the archers cut the tapir up and make an armadillo from its blood (Murphy, 1958: 75). This is the real tapir which is now living in the form of a manatee. Disgraced by the loss of their lover, all the women of the village of *Wakupari* shaved their hair and jumped into the river losing themselves as they took the form of fish, on the orders of *Aybamán* (Sikrida/Shikirid’awán); *Karosakaybö’s* wife. The announcement of the woman’s disappearance was made by another woman called *Aydigpu*, who had assumed the form of a Jacu bird (*wako*).

Spying on the instrument, the following song was revealed to a woman:

The music of that instrument

Shut up

Shut up

Otherwise he will eat you

The xirimuwatpu will eat you

²⁸³ José Gama Malcher (1962) mentions that the Munduruku consider Parintintim the group called *Daibi*, ancient dwellers of the *Uacupari* hill, near the headwaters of the Cabruá river.

Will eat you
Music form the instruments
Shut up
Shut up, otherwise he will eat you
Or maybe the hawk (pakakao) will eat you
(Tawe, 1977: 37-8)²⁸⁴

These flutes are used in the *adaiadai'ip* wood party, and the caterpillar wood party (Tawe et al, 1977: 141). The parasuy instrument was especially used to imitate the sound of various animal spirits of the forest while recounting their stories. It is not allowed for the women to see the instruments. This is why they spy on the instruments (idem: 44). They paint or mark the baton with caterpillar drawings. In isolation, they sing the caterpillar baton song and dance the caterpillar dance, which is translated more or less like this:

Is this one
Let's see this painted wood
Is it the caterpillar wood
Let's see this painted wood
Is it the caterpillar wood
Let's see this painted wood
How the caterpillar climbs the tree
Hammocks rope from the bark of the kado wood
Let's see this painted wood
How the caterpillar climbs the tree
Hammocks rope from the bark of the kado wood
Let's see this painted wood
(Tawe, 1977: 141-2)²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ “A música daquela taboca. Cala-te. Cala-te. Ou ele vai te comer
O xirimuwatpu vai te comer. Vai te comer. música das tabocas. cala-te. cala-te ou ela
vai te comer ou o gavião (pakakao) vai te comer”

²⁸⁵ “É esse mesmo. Vamos ver esse pau pintado .É esse que será pau de lagarta.
Vamos ver esse pau pintado. É esse que será pau de lagarta. Vamos ver esse pau
pintado. Como a lagarta sobe a árvore. Corda da rede de casca do pau 'kado'. Vamos

The Mundurucu have at least three words to describe caterpillars. The big caterpillar is the *xirikpu*, the radical - *xiri* means also *inambu* bird (Crofts, 1986: 652).

After that episode, Karosakaibê began to fish the women, using as bait the neck of the Jacu bird he had just killed (Tawe, 1977: 81). Karosakaibê only managed to fish his own wife and ask her to make porridge for them. Daydo is then invited to eat porridge at Karosakaibö's place but suspecting the porridge was not made by a coatá monkey, as Karosakaibê previously had informed him, tries to mislead him, discover it was done by the one woman that still existed.

It is forbidden for the young ones to see the *waykonpidoydoy* bench. This is why the old ones sit on them only at night. In the *waycok* story, a dialogue begins, at night, between the mother of the Tapir and a man who had the healing water, concluding at daybreak. It goes like this:

- Where did you come from, my grandpa? They asked them – to the recently arrived – the tapir mother.
- From there, they said, I came from the big field, they answer.
- And you grandpa?
- Me too.
- Who are you? They ask.
- Myself – he answers. I am the cricket's shin. I am cricket's shin
- Where do you come from?
- I am from where the jaguar lives, he answers.

(Tawe, 1977: 197)²⁸⁶

The main distinction I want to draw here is between spatial differentiation and spatial segmentation. In the traditional version of geography every space corresponds to a

ver esse pau pintado. Como a lagarta sobre a árvore. Corda da rede de casca do pau 'kado'. Vamos ver esse pau pintado"

²⁸⁶ "- De onde você veio, meu avô? Eles perguntaram a eles – aos recém chegados – a mãe da anta. - De lá – disseram. Eu vim do campo grande – respondem. - E você, meu avô? - Eu também. - Quem é você? Perguntam - Eu mesmo – responde. Eu sou "Canela dos Gafanhotos". Sou "Canela dos Gafanhotos". - De onde é você? - Sou "De onde a caça mora" – responde

specific segment of the earth surface. This statement, nonetheless, can only be valid by an external observer mapping the territory. If we decide, instead that the distance between A and B is experienced in a journey,

What did the location meant? Two things: First of all, that in the region in question one can find a great proportion of endogamic marriage, at the point where the line of descent of the chief fuses with the name of the group. But also this location isn't exclusive, because endogamy decreases or even disappears at the moment you go generations down. When marriage is exogamic, it takes the form, however, of a routine alliance between two privileged groups (Levi-Strauss, 1958: 333)²⁸⁷

In contrast, Nimuendaju began his reflections on the origin of the tribes in the upper Tapajós in the article on Xipáia religion, at the beginning of the 1920s. The *Xipáia* recognized some places in the Iriri river visited by the *Karuriá*, a name formed by the Xipaia word *Karuztat* meaning *Karu* = *Macaw* + *Ztat*); according to Nimuendaju, a corruption of the name *Kuruaia* Munduruku; the *Munduruku* from the West. Once upon a time, the Xipaia say that a group of Kuruaia were trapped and executed by the Munduruku living on the west river. Robbed Kuruaia women were then married to *Xipaia* men (Nimuendaju, 1921-2: 401). To Nimuendaju knowledge, both the Juruna (Yurúna) and Xipaia (Sipáya) were recognized as being Kuruáya from the Xingu Basin, Munduruku speakers in a distant past.

The Tupi-Kawahib, the Munduruku and other larger collectives we call ethnicities today can be thought of from two different, but nonetheless complementary, points of view: as a process of ethnogenesis where fragmentary units go together to construct a single force with a specific identity, or are forced to fight the status quo in relation to intensive alliances against the state (Viveiros de Castro, 2007: 123).

²⁸⁷ “Que signifie cette localisation? Deux choses: d’abord que dans la région considérée, on trouve une forte proportion de mariages endogames; ensuite que la lignée du chef appartient au clan en question. Mais cette localisation n’est pas exclusive, car l’endogamie diminue ou même disparaît, au fur et à mesure qu’on descend l’échelle des générations; quand le mariage est exogamique, il tend à son tour à prendre la forme d’une alliance régulière entre deux clans privilégiés”

One good example of this multiplicity is the Nambikwara Indians spreading all over what is now the north of Mato Grosso and Rondônia. But when we say Nambikwara we have to have in mind that this is a white category denoting a certain group of people. What represents, for the Mundurucu, for example, the formation of the Nambikwara group is a completely different story. They tell us they originated by the fission between the *Yurichumpo* and *Posubipö* groups.

In one mythical Mundurucu warrior story, *Karodaybi* went to war against the village of *Kapikpik* because one of Karodaybi's brothers, the chief *Yodicũḡpu* (*Yurichungpö*) had had intercourse with his wife, a young woman named *Ikonjurai* (Murphy, 1958: 103). In revenge, *Karodaybi* started to behead the women of *Kapikpik* village. *Yodicũḡpu* made an alliance with the *Warupawat* and waited for the dry season to attack one of the houses scattered along the banks of the stream.

Yurichungpo turned to a shaman and said, "Let us see how good your sorcery is. I want a heavy rain to drive all these people back to shelter." The shaman wet the end of a macaw feather with blue dye and pointed it at the sun. Instantly the sky clouded over and a heavy rain fell, bringing everybody back from their far-flung pursuits. The warriors under Yurichungpö fell upon the camp and killed everybody in it (Murphy, 1958: 107).

The group is divided between the ones following him and following *Pöšubipö* who went under the earth to live. Finally, the *Yodicũḡpu* people split again forming the *Ditditwat* or Nambiquara.

Murphy reports a case of jaguar sorcery that might be related to his previous story:

A long time ago a shaman who was hunting in the woods climbed a fruit tree and, while gathering the fruit high in the branches, heard a whistling noise that resembled the cry of the blue nambu bird. The shaman knew this to be the signal of the jaguar, but when he looked down from his lofty perch, he saw another hunter looking upward in search of what he believed to be a bird. The whistling grew closer, and the jaguars emerged from the brush.

They carried leaves in their jaws, which they jammed into the mouth of the victim to prevent outcry before "eating his intestines." The jaguars departed, and the shaman descended from the tree and returned to his village (Murphy, 1958: 45).

The alliance made with the *Warupawat* can be interpreted as a situation in which the *Yori* (Jaguar) clan meets. The *Waru* (*Waro*) clan stands for a tree named *ucuuba* (Van Velthem, 1994: 88). The endangered *ucuuba* or *pracuuba* fruit tree (baboonwood) (*Virola surinamensis*) has the general shape of a nutmeg and preferably lives in a humid area, just like the *Jauari* palm. This is also a place many *apui* trees (*Ficus fagifolia*) can be found. The yellow and hard *Jauari* fruit is often used by the riverines as a bait to catch fish, especially the piranha (Morris. 1884).

The floodplain is a fertile environment, in which wild rubber trees could be also found lying along the streams and rich in fish species. The *matrinxã*, *piabas* and *pacu* fish like to eat the fallen fruits, which together with the water, help to disperse the seeds along the river banks. *Uccuba* seeds are greasy and good for producing candles, soap and other homemade medicines. The *pracuuba* fruit usually falls around December and January (Lorenzi, 1992: 248). The *Kerepotiá* is a special place because its ecological relations are also social relations, in this case corresponding to a specific form of clan conglomeration. The *Kurap* (*Piaba*) from the white moiety clan was attracted by the *Waro* (*Ucuuba*) a red moiety clan (Kruse, 1934).

At the time former US President Theodor Roosevelt decided to venture himself into the wilds of the Amazon jungle. The first place he went was in the north of Mato Grosso, on the border with Pará where Marechal Rondon was gaining territory. To coordinate logistically, he communicated with Lauro Müller, aiming to transport two heavy boats and five tons of luggage by land from the Paraguai river where they had planned to start the Tapajós descent (Millard, 2005: 62-3).

If I wished, we could carry out our intention of going down the Tapajos, but that river had already been well explored and was well known, and that on one of his recent trips Col. Rondon had come across the headwaters of a large river flowing he knew not where, but somewhere between the Tapajós and the Madeira. The authorities said that if I wished, they could direct Col. Rondon to

accompany us down this river, which may open into the Tapajós, which may open into the Madeira, and which may go down to the Amazon itself (Roosevelt, xiii).

Conic roofs with a projecting extremity from the central column in a tail end were constructed by the Tuparí also called *Kepikiri-uats* or *Quêpiqueuuate*. By invitation of the Nambikwara, in 1913 Rondon visited their chief named *Tikeuê* where they were received with acclamations of great joy for they were looked upon as friends whose visit had for a long time been desired and expected” (Rondon, 1915: 186). As the Munduruku, for Rondon they were apparently divided by clans:

In their own language their name is *Kepikiri-uat*, their domains extend on the easterly border up to the river Commemoracao de Floriano which they call the Tumbóaroê, where the Nhambiquara territory commences and includes all the valley of the Pimenta Bueno or Djaru-uerebe, which word in the Indian language signifies the Brilliant (shinny) River. Their population is distributed in numerous independent groups each one with its own name such as «Baep-uaps », «Uarapanan», «Barepits», Uaparanas», «Guep-uats», etc (idem).

With him, he found a white-skinned young boy and attributed his presence there to miscegenation that occurred fifteen years earlier when a Peruvian expedition went up the Ji-Paraná in search for new places to tap rubber²⁸⁸. The *Kepikiri-uats* are a numerous group living in the Pimenta Bueno Valley (an affluent of the Ji-Paraná) and not in the Red river, as he initially thought:

We have said above that these Indians were not those indicated by the Nhambiquaras under the name of Malotundus. This verification was made possible by us, from the fact that the *Kepikiri-uats* themselves informed us that nearer its headwaters

the Pimenta Bueno possessed a feeder the Djaru-Jupirara or Rio Coaiás Vermelho (Red river) the valley of which is occupied by a tribe which they call Coaiás; and the description of these, given to us by them, coincides exactly with that given by the Nhambiquaras relative to the terrible Malotundus (Rondon, 1915: 188).

CONCLUSION

COLONIZATION PRODUCED AND PRODUCER OF INDIGENOUS ROUTES

“If categories are unstable, we must watch them emerge within encounters. To use category names should be a commitment to tracing the assemblages in which these categories gain a momentary hold”. (TSING, 2015: 29).

The main subject of the thesis was to highlight the importance of examining indigenous migrations and their movements on a regional scale. The definition of group and place is what is at stake here. We propose this as another way to conceptualize groups differently from the genealogical model. That is, by taking into account the places people have walked and the different contacts they have made along the way. I argued that conditions and exigencies of travel or hunting could produce various ways of inhabiting the river that do not necessarily take into account- as was the case for the colonizers- where the river comes from or to where it goes. On the contrary, mythical narratives have their own particular way of folding space, condensing places, rather than moving from one fix point to another (Wagner, 2001: 77). In contrast to what is described to happen in Melanesia, this material does not provide evidence to argue that routes have names, nor that they are subject to jealous supervision (Bonnemaison, 1984: 135). Cultural confrontation is useful not only to think about historical change, as Sahlins (1981), would say, but also what can be thought as an event. Unlike him, however, we do not tend to see “cultural structures”, but the proliferation of different kinds of interactions instead. It is as if many events or encounters was happening in different parts of Amazonia at the same, and we, as anthropologists, could only see their manifestations attached to specific places and cultures. Looking at a different scale, however, they form a landscape of events. Indeed, they occur and respond to each other at their own mood. On both narratives, we see the alternation of war and peace periods. It is for this reason that we tried to mix mythical accounts taken from native and anthropological sources, but also take a

historical view of material concerning the advancement of the colonial frontier. It is for further research to investigate if in the periods when colonial government declared war against the Mura, Mawé or Munduruku, the different groups composing what is known as Mura, Mawé and Munduruku were relating peacefully or not. This is important because time along, the composition of the groups change dependant on which type of activity they engage. We did this by focusing on the centrality of cultural intermediaries in areas where cultures met, clashed, and cooperated (Langfur, 2014: 843), especially represented by the search for gold and rubber respectively in the 18th and 19th centuries. I dwelt in the image that indigenous interpreters could bring news to the colonizers, such as the exploration of a new path in the forest, or the description of an unexplored and wealthy place. Interpreters were mobile, and the research shows mobility meant indigenous communication.

As we could see, comparing both the travelers' descriptions of body decorations, the museum collections which conserve the decorated trophy heads and headdresses and the river petroglyphs, is that people from the upper Tapajós reveal themselves through decoration, drawing and the displaying of trophies. How we interpret these forms of expression is not in question here because they does not represent individualized knowledge. Indigenous knowledge do not recognize the features as representing something, or as having an intrinsic meaning, but on the contrary, in all its concreteness, as an inscription, a trace, a route; a exemplification of their own efficacy publicizing their names (Strathern, 1999: 41). "Graphicalization" strands for the different readings of Wahgi shield designs surfaces where the anthropologist wish to read very much more into them while this research looks to be best attuned to the semantic potential of graphical marks in general (O'Hanlon, 1995: 481) such as body ornaments installed in rites of passage or the social emphasis of certain faculties at particular times in the life-cycle (Seeger, 1975: 218). Talking about petroglyphs was not done in a strict archaeological sense, but to compose the metaphor that all forms of inscription are permeated by movement and have history.

We also saw that after being displayed, urban centers started to want to acquire those feather objects mainly collected in the forest, increasing communication with more Indians from inland villages. It is difficult to know then, if the feather adorned *principais* described in Santarém came to the city as *principais* or if they acquired this status after earning prestige while engaging in the feather trade. Neither do we know the extent to which feather tradings circulated in the past among the Indians.

The descriptions of the topography of the country the colonizers went through allowed me, in another aspect, to analyse the cosmological challenges the indigenous people face as a result of having other groups living around them. Stories are told from one generation to another at the same time as groups cruised into the forest, spreading the information to other corners of the land. We have used the word colonization indiscriminately because our focus here was the indigenous responses to the frontier advancement that, as we tried to show, can be understood as the proliferation of new groups and fragmentation of what the Portuguese always considered to be larger unities. This can also be viewed as an effect of scaling where total cultures could be reconceived as merely part of some other unity in a fractal whole-part interaction (Wagner, 1991; Strathern, 1991). Living in the forest as a net of relations – spiritual, commercial and social- that are constantly disturbed and change format along time I have painted a more complex scenario enriching understanding of the sociology of the indigenous people's.

We as outsiders are in the habit of using collective names such as Mawé, Mundurucu and Mura too generically to refer to different groups that have their own culture and chiefs. Attempting to understand the formation of groups through indigenous logic based on primary and secondary sources is not easy and sometimes requires re-conceptualizing established categories produced by our own culture such as territory, contact and group formation. Reading the authors against their will, (but not, for that reason less precisely) I do not take chorographic and travelling accounts literally, but historically. Yet again, history here does not mean only the passage of time but reveals much about the contact with other people, the indigenous people of the Amazon rainforest. We show that the movement of white penetration in the Amazon was conducted either upwards, from the city of Santarém, at the mouth of the Tapajós supported by the Jesuit Mission or later on, in the 18th century, descending the river by the discovering of goldmines in its headwaters in Mato Grosso. Although accompanying much of the white penetration participating in some types of state-sponsored expeditions (Roller, 2014) indigenous movements were going on for a long time and continued to be so now as a reaction to it; reconfiguring social relations in the Amazon Valley. Colonizers and Indians did not share the same type of movement. In one case, white penetration occurred in predictable ways. They distanced themselves from the most representative economic centers to look for new land to be explored and groups to be exploited as an indigenous labor force. As I mentioned before, this was

usually done within the same river, always with the intention of describing it from head to toe. Indigenous spatial logic, I argue, although formed under the same geographical circumstances, frames movements in relation to other known indigenous groups. This was usually done in a transversal fashion between river watersheds along the small rivers that connect them. Because the experience of time is learned along one's own life, one can never take the environment for granted (Ingold, 2000; 189). Land and life are terms dependent on one other.

The idea of war does not necessary resemble the totality of one group or another. This is the main problem I address when discussing the pacification letters published for the colonial period. What we call total is only a variation of how the total is conceived. The total number of Munduruku who met with Lobo d'Almada in Manaus was not the total of Munduruku at war, and probably not the same total as the one formed during the Adai'Adai's ritual either. Colonization narratives can only describe reified unities while what we are stressing here is that indigenous movement can have a different cause that is not only itself. (Tarde, 2007: 60). These sometimes rapid collective transformations required that we approach ethnic names-in motion (Tsing, 2015: 293) or in other words, as substance for noticing which type of social relations they established and what kind of story emerges from that. If the appendix standardizes some of these names this is only to show that they possess a third more native category not yet understood inside onomastic studies.

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ANNEX:

Table 5: Interethnic naming

GROUP NAME	CALL THE GROUP	BY THE NAME	SOURCE	MEANING
MUNDURUKU	MUNDURUKU	HUEIDIEMIA	MENSE (1925)	“we, humans”
MUNDURUKU	MUNDURUKU	HUEID'ENE	STROEMER (1932)	“we the people”
MUNDURUKU	?	PARI-UAIA	COUDREAU (1897)	“Bararati river”
MUNDURUKU	NAMBIQUARA	PARIBITATA	HOEHNE (1915)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	TITIDHUÁTE	TOCANTINS (1877: 98)	?
MUNDURUKU	NAMBIQUARA	TITIT-WAT	STROEMER (1932)	?
MUNDURUKU	PARINTINTIM	PARI-WAT	HOEHNE (1915)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	PARINRINRIN	TOCANTINS (1877: 98)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	PAREN-AN-AN	TOCANTINS (1877: 98)	?
MUNDURUKU	PARINTINTIM	PARE-DINGDING	MENSE (1925)	“a type of ant”
MUNDURUKU	PARINTINTIM	PARETITI	STROEMER, C. (1932)	?
MUNDURUKU	PARINTINTIM	PARIUÁT-IRA-RAUÁT	GAMA MALCHER (1964)	“cabeceiras do Juruena”
MUNDURUKU	PARINTINTIM	PARIBITETÉ	GAMA MALCHER (1964)	“bacia do Teles Pires”
MUNDURUKU	PARINTINTIM	DAIBI	GAMA MALCHER (1964)	“antigos moradores do morro de Uacupari,”

				próximo do Cabruá”
MUNDURUKU	APIAKÁ	APIAKÁ	HOEHNE (1915)	
MUNDURUKU	?	HUANYAM/ABITONA - HUANYAM (PAWUMWA)	GAMA MALCHER (1964)	“river san Miguel, tributary of the Guaporé)
MUNDURUKU	TAPANHUNAS	PARIDINDIN	HOEHNE (1915)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	PARIRINDIN	GAMA MALCHER (1964)	?
MUNDURUKU	PARINTINS	QUATY-POSUA-UAT	HOEHNE (1915)	?
MUNDURUKU	PARINTINS-PEQUENOS	PARIBUBU-UAT	HOEHNE (1915)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	PARARAOÂTE	TOCANTINS (1877: 97)	“Possuem canoas, são pintados pelas fonts em forma de caracões”
MUNDURUKU	XIPAIA	PARAWAWA-WAT	WALTER, A. (1937)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	PRAUÁ-UAUÁT	GAMA MALCHER (1964)	?
MUNDURUKU	PARINTINTIM	PARARAUAT/UAUVRIVAIT	MARTIUS (1867: 395)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	UIRARAOÂTE	TOCANTINS (1877: 98)	“Que os Mundurucús chamam nação de onças,

				porque, dizem, urram como este animal”
MUNDURUKU	?	PESSOÁU- UAUÁT	GAMA MALCHER (1964)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	BICHE- IRAMERAN	TOCANTINS (1877: 98)	“Só tem o beijo inferior pintado de negro”
MUNDURUKU	BOCA-PRETA	IBIXENAMANÍ	HOEHNE (1915)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	PUPARURUTES	TOCANTINS (1877: 97)	“Tem por distintivo um traço escuro que desce do ângulo exterior de cada olho até a barba, parecendo sulco de lagrimas”
MUNDURUKU	?	IPITIUÂTE	TOCANTINS (1877:97)	“Não são pintados, raspam a cabeça em roda, são corpulentos, Barbados, bravos,

				temidos dos próprios Munduruk u. Não usam redes, dormem em esteiras, e servem-se de formidáveis tacapes”
MUNDURUKU	?	IPJUAT	HOEHNE (1915)	“vivem na região do rio São Manoel”
MUNDURUKU	KAYAPÓ-TAPAJÓS	IPTI-WAT	NIMUENDAJU (1932)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	MOREU-UAT	HOEHNE (1915)	“se penduram nos galhos e tem hábitos noturnos”
MUNDURUKU	“INDIOS MORCEGOS”	MAREÚRUÁT	GAMA MALCHER (1964)	?
MUNDURUKU	“CAVEMAN INDIANS”	PARERIRI	STROEMER (1932)	?
MUNDURUKU	“DWARF INDIANS”	PARI-ANAN	STROEMER (1932)	?
MUNDURUKU	“DWARF INDIANS”	PIRIANHAM	GAMA MALCHER (1964)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	PARIBITAT	TOCANTINS (1877:	“Habitam

			98)	campos na direção de Cuyabá”
MUNDURUKU	?	PARIBITÉTÊ	TOCANTINS (1877: 98)	“Habitantes das cabeceiras do rio D. Manoel, afluente do Tapajós”
MUNDURUKU	?	PARIBI-TATA	STROEMER (1932)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	PIRAA	STROEMER (1932)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	PIRIANRÁ	GAMA MALCHER (1964)	?
MUNDURUKU	“INHABITANTS OF THE JAPIM RIVER”	PUSURI-WAT	STROEMER (1932)	?
MUNDURUKU	“PEOPLE OF THE HAKAIRI”	HAKAIRI-WAT	STROEMER (1932)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	TURUBö	STROEMER (1932)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	AIPO-SISSI	CALVAO, Tozzi (1928)	“Bararati river”
MUNDURUKU	?	<i>TAIPö-SISI</i>	STROEMER (1932)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	<i>TÁIPA-CHICHI</i>	GAMA MALCHER (1964)	“habitantes das cabeceiras do Sucundury e Bararaty (AM)”
MUNDURUKU	BAKAIRI	<i>MUREUFÂTES</i>	TOCANTINS (1877: 98) E STEINEN (1894: 392)	?
MUNDURUKU	?	<i>JURUPUÁ</i>	TOCANTINS (1877:	“Corpulent

			98)	os e ferozes”
MUNDURUKU	?	<i>TUPAIUNAS</i>	TOCANTINS (1877: 98)	“Pintam-se de negro”
APIAKÁ	MUNDURUKU	<i>PARI</i>	MARTIUS (1867)	?
APIAKÁ	MUNDURUKU	<i>PARI/ITAÑWÑAL T/MADURUKUL</i>	KRUSE (1933)	?
APIAKÁ	MAUÉ	MAU-UARA	MARTIUS, 1867:385-400)	?
APIAKÁ	TAPANHONA	?	NIMEUNDAJU, (1948: 310)	Peixes River
APIAKÁ	TAPANHONAU HUM	?	NIMEUNDAJU, (1948: 310)	?
APIAKÁ	CAYABI/TIMAO ANA/TIMAUÁN/ TAPANYUNA	?	NIMEUNDAJU, (1948: 310)	?
APIAKÁ	?	URUPÊA	KRUSE (1933)	?
APIAKÁ	?	MUKURI	KRUSE (1933)	?
KAYABI	MUNDURUKU	ĖWIRÁ-POKÚ	RIBEIRO, 1979: 164	?
KAYABI	KAYAPÓ	IPEWĖ	RIBEIRO, 1979: 164	West of the Teles Pires
KAYABI	APIAKÁ	TAP’I’ITSIN	GRÜNBERG, 1993 (1971): 58	“Relatives” , “People like us”
KAYABI	APIAKÁ	PATUISIN	RIBEIRO, 1979: 164	?
KAYABI	RIKBAK TSA	Y’IMAM’IK/ KAWA’IP	GRÜNBERG, 1993 (1971): 59	“Above the Arinos/Juruena confluence and below the Juruena
KAYABI	BAKAIRI	TIMA’AN	GRÜNBERG, 2004	Northeast

			(1970): 80	from the Peixes River
KAYABI	“BEIÇOS-DE-PAU”	‘IPE’OO	GRÜNBERG, 1993 (1971): 60	“Big lips”
KAYABI	“CIVILIZED”	TAP’I’II’IPYAT	GRÜNBERG, 1993 (1971): 60	?
BAKAIRI	MUNDURUKU	MANDURUKU	KRUSE (1933)	?
BAKAIRI	KAYABI	PARUA	STEINEN, 59	“Their fierce enemies”
KAYAPÓ	JURUNA	MOITÉA	NIMUENDAJU (1932: 560-1)	?
KAYAPÓ	KURUAYA	KÜBĚ	NIMUENDAJU (1932: 560-1)	?
KAYAPÓ	KARAJÁ	NŌ-GRE-RE/MENÓGAKID	NIMUENDAJU (1932: 560-1)	?
KAYAPÓ	ARARA	KUBE-NYÓE	NIMUENDAJU (1932: 560-1)	?
MAUÉ	BLACKS	TAPANHUNA	EIHENREICH, 1929: 135	Maué from the Mariacua river
MAUÉ	WILD INDIAN	PARITÍN	EIHENREICH, 1929: 135	Maué from the Mariacua river
PARINTINTIN	JIAHUI	AHEUHU (including the Pai’i)	LA VERA BETTS: 23	The Jahui live in the Maici and Marmelos river.
PARINTINTIN	MURA-PIRAHA	GWY’VI	LA VERA BETTS, 53	Living in the Marmelo river

PARINTINTIN	MURA-PIRAHA	IVYRAPAPUKU' ĞA	LA VERA BETTS, 157	?
PARINTINTIN	?	JUITYVA'ĞA	LA VERA BETTS, 71	?
PARINTINTIN	?	KYJUKWERA' ĞA	LA VERA BETTS, 84	Living at the headwaters of the Ipixuna river
PARINTINTIN	?	KYTIAPĒI'ĞA (IGWAKA' ĞA)	LA VERA BETTS, 85	?
PARINTINTIN	?	YRERU' ĞA	LA VERA BETTS, 152	?
PARINTINTIN	?	YRERUJIPYHU' ĞA	LA VERA BETTS, 152	?
PARINTINTIN	?	YVYRAPAPERE HUVÉ' ĞA	LA VERA BETTS, 157	Black Indians living in between the Marmelos and Ipixuna rivers close to the city of Humaitá
PARINTINTIN	?	ARUKA	LA VERA BETTS: 37	Live in the Maici river.
PARINTINTIN	?	ARUIMBE	LA VERA BETTS: 37	?
PARINTINTIN	?	APEIRA'NDI	LA VERA BETTS: 32	?
PARINTINTIN	A section of the Kwandu half	GWYRAY'GWAR	LA VERA BETTS: 53	?
PARINTINTIN	?	AINGWE'RI	LA VERA BETTS: 25	?
PARITINTIN	?	KWATIJAKATU	LA VERA BETTS: 25	?

PARECI	MUNDURUKU	SARUMA (YARUMA)	STEINEN (1894): 155 and KRUSE (1933)	?
KARAJÁ	KAYAPÓ	GRADAÚS	CUNHA MATOS, (1824)	No rio Araguaia
RIKBAKTSÁ	CINTA-LARGA	BARYKTSÁ	PACINI, 1999: LXIV)	
KURUAIA	MUNDURUKU	KARUDTAT/KAR U ZÍAD	KRUSE (1933); NIMUENDAJU, (1920: 326-7)	?
KURUAIA	KURUAIA	DJIRIMÁIN ID	NIMUENDAJU, (1920: 326-7)	?
KURUAIA	JURUNA	PARAWA WAD	NIMUENDAJU, (1920: 326-7)	?
KURUAIA	XIPAIA	PARAWA WAD	NIMUENDAJU, (1920: 326-7)	?
KURUAIA	ARARA	IAMI TUG	NIMUENDAJU, (1920: 326-7)	?
KURUAIA	TAKUNHAPE	EID ȚM	NIMUENDAJU, (1920: 326-7)	?
KURUAIA	ASSURINI	NȚPÁNU PAG	NIMUENDAJU, (1920: 326-7)	?
KURUAIA	KAYAPÓ	ÍB TE WAD	NIMUENDAJU, (1920: 326-7)	?
KURUAIA	“CARAS PRETAS”	TUPA RŎMA	NIMUENDAJU, (1920: 326-7)	?
KURUAIA	APIAKÁ/PARIN TINTINS (?)	PARAWA ZÍAD	NIMUENDAJU, (1920: 326-7)	?
MURA	MUNDURUKU	PATISI	KRUSE (1933)	?
MATANAWI	MUNDURUKU	PAICI	KRUSE (1933)	?
XIPAIA	MUNDURUKU	KARURIA	KRUSE (1933)	Kuruaia word
XIPAIA	JURUNA	JȚDJA OR JȚIDJÁ	NIMUENDAJU, (1928: 839)	?
XIPAIA	URUPAYA	ARUPÁI	NIMUENDAJU, (1928: 839)	?
XIPAIA	PÉUA	TAKUNAPÉ	NIMUENDAJU, (1928: 839)	?

XIPAIA	ARARA	AŠIPĀ	NIMUENDAJU, (1928: 839)	Cheek Painted
XIPAIA	CARA PRETA	TAKUMANDIKAI	NIMUENDAJU, (1928: 839)	Black People
XIPAIA	KURUAIA	KIRIWÁI	NIMUENDAJU, (1928:839)	?
XIPAIA	ASSURINI	ADJÍ KAPORURI-RI	NIMUENDAJU, (1928:839)	Wild Red
XIPAIA	KAYAPÓ	TUKAMA MÁI OR PAKIRI DAI OR ŠAWARI	NIMUENDAJU, (1929:886)	Without bow
ARARA	XIPAIA	ČIPÁI	NIMUENDAJU (1932: 550)	?
ARARA	ASSURINI	NERIMÁ	NIMUENDAJU (1932: 550)	?
ARARA	KAYAPÓ	AUTÍKA	NIMUENDAJU (1932: 550)	?
ARARA	ARARA	OPINADKÓM	NIMUENDAJU (1932: 550)	?
ARARA	JURUNA	PARU-PODARÍ	NIMUENDAJU (1932: 550)	?
JURUNA	JURUNA	OUADI	COUDREAU, (1897: 169)	?
JURUNA	MUNDURUKU	KALURIA/KARU RIĀ/CALOURIA	KRUSE (1933); NIMUENDAJU (1932: 584); COUDREAU, (1897: 169)	?
JURUNA	KURUAYA	KIRIUÉI	NIMUENDAJU (1932: 584)	?
JURUNA	ARARA	AŠIPÁ/ACHIPA	NIMUENDAJU (1932: 584); COUDREAU, (1897: 169)	?
JURUNA	TAKUNYAPE	PEUA	NIMUENDAJU (1932: 584)	?
JURUNA	KAYAPÓ	ČUKAHA-MĀ-I	NIMUENDAJU (1932: 584)	?

JURUNA	SUYÁ	PERÓ/INTOLAO	NIMUENDAJU (1932: 584); COUDREAU, (1897: 169)	?
JURUNA	BAKAIRI	MAKAIRÍ	NIMUENDAJU (1932: 584)	?
JURUNA	ASSURINI	SOURINI	COUDREAU, (1897: 169)	?
JURUNA	KARAJÁ	TIOCAPAMIN	COUDREAU, (1897: 169)	?
SUYA	MUNDURUKU	KUPÉ SAKÁ	FRIKEL (1969-72: 132)	?
SUYA	KAYABI/APIAKÁ	KUPÉ KRÜRÜ	FRIKEL (1969-72: 132)	?
SUYÁ	KAMAYURÁ (AND OTHER XINGUANIAN GROUPS)	KUPÉ WEAMTOTI	FRIKEL (1969-72: 132)	?
SUYÁ	?	<i>KREEN AKRORE,</i>	FRIKEL (1969-72: 132)	?
TOIGAPTIL	MUNDURUKU	TCURUVI (?)	KRUSE (1933)	?
TORÁ	MUNDURUKU	KAUBÊIK	KRUSE (1933)	??
WIDADAWAT	MUNDURUKU	TUPIYU'N	KRUSE (1933)	Must be the Apiaká "Mukuri"
DYURUPÊA	MUNDURUKU	TAPÊAI'Ñ	KRUSE (1933)	Must speak Apiaká. In Apiaká language means "foreign indian"
?	MUNDURUKU	AKEKAKORE	KRUSE (1933)	?